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AIMS

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MARCEVOL AND STE. EULALIE

MILTON D. LOWENSTEIN

AT MARQUIXANES, a branch of the main highway from Perpignan ascends the north slope of the Tet watershed. Not far along the road is a place where the priory of Marcevol and its daughter, the chapel of Ste. Eulalie, are both visible in the distance. They are on opposite sides of the road and almost three kilometers apart, the priory of Marcevol to the right, and Ste. Eulalie to the left. About two kilometers from Arboussols the road stops short, shorn of purpose, lost among the debris of the almost deserted village of Marcevol.

The village is first mentioned under the name of *Marceval* in a bull dated 1011.[1] A parchment of 1088 associates the village with a vineyard of Marcevol's parish church of St. Mary.[2] This little sanctuary can hardly be distinguished among the ruins that were once a town. It was abandoned about ten years ago when the inhabitants, whose ancestors struggled for 900 years with long droughts and brief but violent storms, found it impossible to continue the fight. The church is kept in order by the sole occupant of Marcevol who uses the priory across the road as a barn.

Marcevol was the only priory in the Diocese of Elne representing the order of Canons of the Holy Sepulchre (not to be confused with the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre).[3] The headquarters of the order was at St. Anne's, Barcelona. The canons originated in Jerusalem after the conquest of Palestine by Godefroy de Bouillon. In 1114, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Arnoul, increased the severity of the order by having the members conform to the rule of St. Augustine. The order was confirmed in 1122 by the Pope Calixtus II, and in 1129 by Honorius II, the year it received Marcevol's parish church.[4]

The question of the successor of the prior arose in 1143 and was settled by a bull of Pope Celestine II.[5] Another bull of Alexander III, June 5, 1163, urged the priory to rescue all that was possible in the Diocese of Elne. It may have reference either to local marauders or to Saracen pirates. This bull was followed by still another one which mentioned St. Anne's, Barcelona, and confirmed the rights of Raymond, Abbot of St. Martin de Canigou, to the Marcevol parish church, and at the same time confirmed the priory's possession of Ste. Eulalie.[6]

With the passing of the last of the Counts of Roussillon in 1172, the country came under the rule of Alphonse, King of Aragon. He made a donation to the priory in recognition of its hospitality to a certain Dame Saurine d'Orle.[7] Subsequent kings attempted to detach some of Marcevol's possessions. In the reign of James the Conqueror, the royal procuror of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne found some pretext to claim possession of priory property in Cerdagne. The prior, Bernard de Trana, fought hard against the attempt, reminding the procuror of Raymond Berenger's confirmation of these possessions. A royal order on November 12, 1256, allowed the priory to retain its property.[8]

The plan of the priory church shows a wide nave with side aisles, a center and south apse and entrances on the west and south (Fig. 1). Except for the apses, which have conical roofs, the entire building is under one roof with a ridge over the center of the nave (Fig. 2).

A high wall around the cemetery prevents a complete view of the west façade which has unusually squat proportions, (Fig. 3). The upper part is an inept addition to the original structure. The change in stereotomy, particularly the wider joints in the courses near the eaves line, indicates that the belfry was added after the building was completed. The size and disposition of the arches in which the bells once hung adds to the confusion of scale. The belfry is not at all related to the windows beneath and conflicts with the sense of the design.

The treatment of the nave and aisle fenestration lends the brilliance of an old soldier's medals to a misshapen figure. The clean-cut and accurately fitted pieces of pink marble composing the trim also give scale to the building. The three windows and the door are unified by being part of a horizontal rhombic pattern. The string course, carried over the window, as well as the imposts of the center window add their strokes of horizontality to the composition and increase the squat effect. The window at the north end of the west façade is blind since it is covered by the transverse barrel vault construction of the chapel in the north side aisle.

Each opening, despite its individual prominence, focuses the attention on the interior functional unity for which the exterior is merely a protective screen. The marble trimmed fenestration ornaments the façade, but never to the extent of supplanting the higher function of dignifying the edifice as a whole. The material is the same as that used for the

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MILTON D. LOWENSTEIN *has written a companion-piece to his paper on the Romanesque church of Serrabonne in the Pyrenees, SAH* JOURNAL, *October 1953.*

capitals and the tribune at Serrabonne. Marcevol has no sculpture; only the simple marble moldings of the reveal and architrave of the entrance decorate the church.

The general design of the entrance is the familiar one of a series of archivolts, each supported on its own jamb (Fig. 3). At Marcevol, the outer row of voussoirs is enclosed in a saw-tooth arrangement of rectangular blocks of marble, which is the same idea as that used around the cornice of the apse at Serrabonne. The pattern here seems to emphasize with its radiating lines the importance of the main entrance. The effect is somewhat like that produced by the dog-toothed Norman pattern. Above the door lintel is a semicircular tympanum cut from a choice piece of white marble, which gives added richness to the surrounding pink voussoirs.

Marcevol's ancient wooden door, full of nail holes from the dislodged fastenings, is held together by the grooved wrought-iron hinges and the wrought-iron decoration between them. The grooved iron is generally considered an indication that the forging was done before the end of the twelfth century. J.-A. Brutails points out, however, that the old work was sometimes imitated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[9] This was the case at Prats de Mollo which was restored in 1648.[10]

The volutes that form the hinges are large, but do not completely fill the space between the horizontal bands. Reverse curves—S's lying on their sides—of the same size as the hinge spirals, are fastened to the wood between the hinges. The original door gave the appearance of being enclosed by a network of iron. Leather may have been used over the wood, but no trace of the covering remains.

The rough north wall is unbroken by any opening. Repointing makes it difficult to tell the size of the original wall joints. From old *Monuments historiques* photographs, the joints appear to have been about one inch thick. The pieces of granite get smaller as the east end of the building is approached. The average size is about large enough for one man to handle, i.e., no more than 12 cubic decimeters (using 2.5 kg. per cubic decimeter as the density of granite). A cornice, restored when the roof was repaired, runs the length of the north wall.

There is no north apse and it is doubtful if one ever existed with the present aisle. The stone work at the end of the north aisle cannot be distinguished from the rest of the wall. The present splayed window appears to be contemporaneous with the rest of the aisle. The main apse has three splayed windows (Fig. 4). A corbelled blind arcade carries around under the eaves and serves the usual purpose of keeping roof-water away from walls which were frescoed inside. The arcade also helps give scale to the apse by breaking its rounded surface into units. The south apse has one window. Above the roof of the south apse, and in the east wall of the church, is a bull's-eye formed of voussoirs without any molding.

A wall runs eastward from the outside of the center apse (Fig. 4). It was apparently built when the priory was made a part of a farm compound. A gate in the wall opens on a passage to the farm courtyard (plot plan, Fig. 2). The south entrance to the church is reached through this yard. West of the door and close to the eaves is a blind bull's-eye with a finely cut cavetto trim. The farm building next to the west end of the church has a wooden stairs which lead to the roof of the church. A magnificent view of the country can be had through the belfry arches.

Entering the south door recalls the experience of the north entrance at Serrabonne. The door is nearer the choir at Marcevol and may have been used to enter a cloister that was situated in the present yard. The door's position may indicate that the door was reserved for the canons' passage to the cloisters. The two pilasters flanking the door inside probably helped support wooden ties for the side-aisle vaults.

As at Serrabonne, it is possible for an individual to worship at the small apse altar without interrupting what is going on in the nave. The portion of the side-aisle from the pier at the south entrance, eastward including the small apse, is a unit. Its integrity is emphasized by the barrel vault that sets the small apse unit apart from the western section of the side aisle where the vault is a half-barrel vault. The volume of this south apse unit, as well as each of the north aisle chapels, is equal to 70 cubic meters. The equality in the chapels' size gives a sense of continuity around the north and east sides of the church.

The half-dome of the south apse contains traces of a fresco; the color and forms employed resemble the work of St. Martin de Fenollar. Near the south door a fragment of a marble baptismal vessel was found half buried in the floor. The original font must have measured about 75 cm. in diameter. Two hooded monkheads in full face could be discerned carved in low bas-relief. The work is crude and could have been done by a local stone cutter at any time of the church's existence.

The west entrance is raised above the floor level so that on entering, the entire interior of the nave, choir and large apse, is seen at once. The harmonious proportions of the functional elements contribute to the rhythm of the nave arcade, as the perspective of the curving arches and piers leads the eye toward the choir (Fig. 5). The gradual decreasing size of the piers adds to this effect. The volumes of the three divisions: nave, choir and apse, are related in a proportion of which the choir is the mean. The relationship in cubic meters is 105: 290: 290: 800.

The arrangement of functional elements is like that of many other single-roof structures, of which St. Cecilia de Montserrat may be considered the prototype in Catalonia. The side aisles are carried higher in this type of construction than in a separately roofed church, and the buttressing effect on the nave vault is better. The outside appearance,

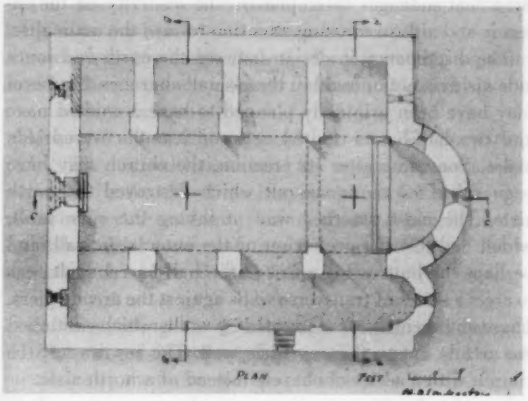

FIG. 1. Marcevol. Plan. (Author, copyrighted 1953)

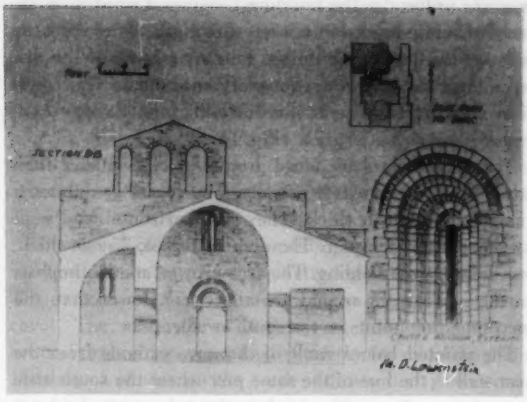

FIG. 2. Marcevol. Transverse section and details. (Author, copyrighted 1953)

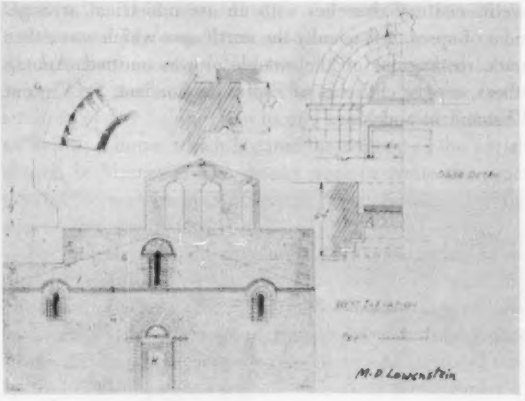

FIG. 3. Marcevol. West elevation and details. (Author, copyrighted 1953)

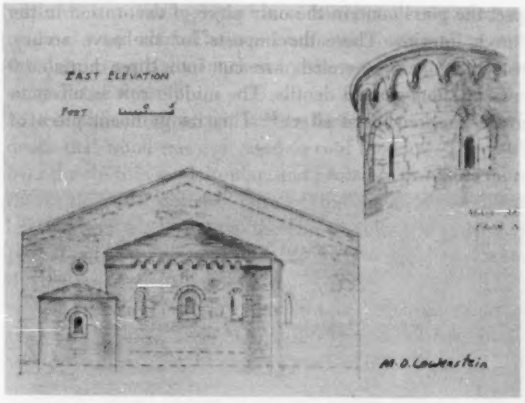

FIG. 4. Marcevol. East elevation and details of apse. (Author, copyrighted 1953)

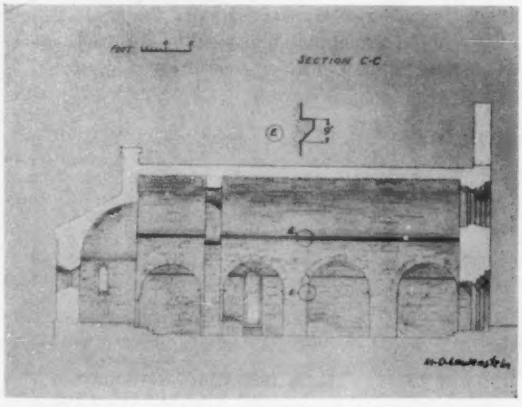

FIG. 5. Marcevol. Longitudinal section. (Author, copyrighted 1953)

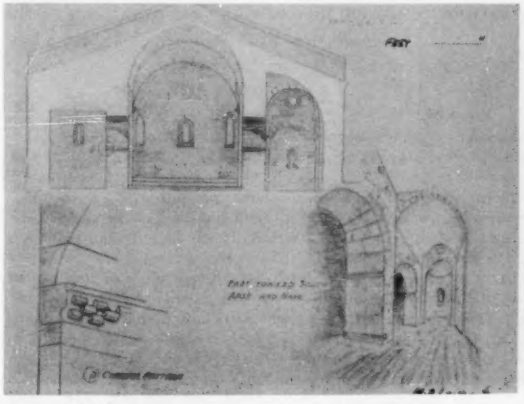

FIG. 6. Marcevol. Section of apse and interior details. (Author, copyrighted 1953)

however, differs as the building becomes a solid mass instead of being divided into interesting units. By placing the entrance of the church on the long axis some of the disadvantages of its proportions are overcome. The south aisle aided circulation to the nave. The north aisle consisted of a series of chapels (Fig. 1).

The arcade piers are faced granite blocks, smaller than those used in the exterior walls. The joints are about a quarter of an inch thick. They are horizontal and kept continuous in each pier. The arcade impost, 25 cm. thick, is a simple bevel molding. The arch crowns and the imposts on the north aisle arcade are all 15 cm. lower than the corresponding points on the south arcade.

The pointed barrel vault of the nave extends from the west wall to the line of the same pier where the south aisle vault changes its profile. A rib in the nave vault divides it at this point, and marks the beginning of the choir (Figs. 5 and 6). The altar steps seem to have started here as indicated by a mound in the floor. On either side of the central apse, the piers contain the only piece of decoration in the church interior. There the imposts for the nave arches, instead of being beveled, are cut into three horizontal rows of spool-shaped dentils. The middle row is offset to give a checker-board effect.[11] This insignificant piece of ornament manages to emphasize the austerity of the interior and aids in drawing attention toward the main apse.

The discrepancy in design between the north and south side aisles is not unusual in these small churches. Marcevol may have been originally planned to have a vaulted nave and two half-barrel-vaulted or wood lean-to-covered side aisles. Sometime after its erection, the church may have been subjected to an assault which destroyed the north aisle. The most practical way of saving the nave vault, which had lost the protection of the outer aisle wall, and perhaps the buttressing effect of the half-barrel vault, was to erect a series of transverse walls against the arcade piers. These abutments were connected by vaults which continued the arcade out to the new aisle wall. The repairs left the church with a series of chapels instead of a north aisle.

The idea for this type of plan may have come from Barcelona, where the church of St. Catherine, begun in 1223, had a similar disposition of small chapels. It is a curious coincidence, that of the small Roussillon eleventh- to twelfth-century churches with an assymmetrical arrangement of apses, it is usually the north apse which was either made rectangular on the outside or was omitted. Among others, are the churches of Espira de Conflent, St. Vincent d'Estamariu and Mur.[12]

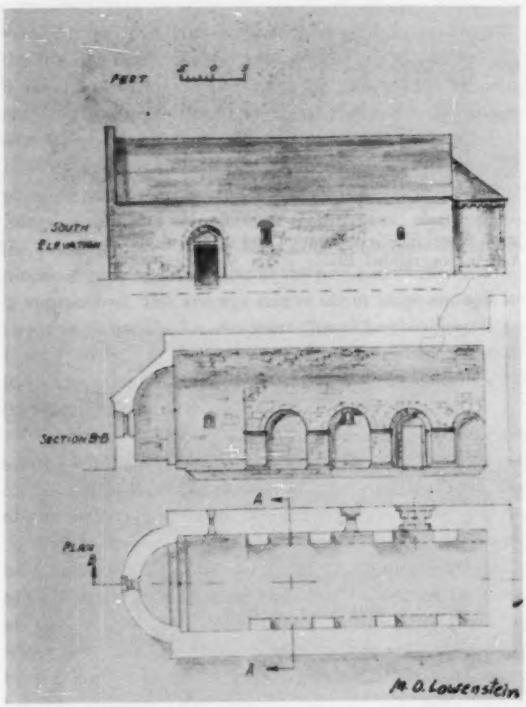

FIG. 7. Ste. Eulalie. Plan, longitudinal section and south elevation. (Author, copyrighted 1953)

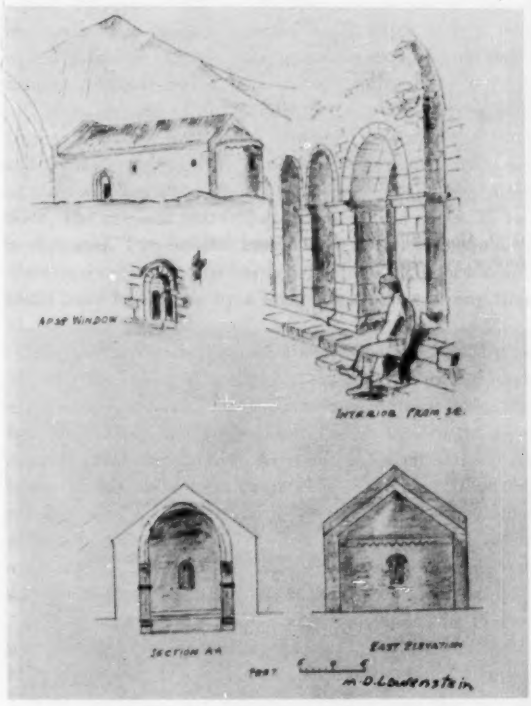

FIG. 8. Ste. Eulalie. Assorted drawings. (Author, copyrighted 1953)

The description of Marcevol given by Puig y Cadafalch[13] as a single-roofed building does not correspond with his drawings which show the building with a separate roof for the nave, the north and the south aisles. This is not the condition *in situ*.

Marcevol illustrates the need for care in comparing plans. The original intention of the designer is not always indicated by the church as it appears today. The changes made in the course of the years were not necessarily due to the influence of some prototype but may have been due to the exigencies of local conditions.

Before crossing the dried stream on the road between Arboussols and Marcevol, a turn off the road to the left continues up the terraced slopes to where the brush begins. The general northwest direction leads to Ste. Eulalie.

An inventory of documents found in the poor-house of Vinça by Pierre Vidal about seventy years ago included a will written in Catalan and dated November 7, 1142, October 26, 1142, according to our calendar. It was the testament of Bernard d'Arboussols who "at the end of his life became a monk of Marcevol." He bequeathed to the priory his mills, tithes and the chapel of St. Sauveur in the territory of Ste. Eulalie (now locally known as Ste. Eulalie), as well as a house which became the rectory of the parish church in Marcevol. The monks were to recite the usual number of masses in St. Sauveur (Ste. Eulalie) for the soul of the benefactor.[14]

The plan is a single nave and choir terminating in an apse. In addition to the entrance, the south wall has two small windows (Fig. 7). The one nearer the entrance is the larger, but both seem to belong to the same period when the chapel is supposed to have had a wood roof instead of the present vault. Judging from the masonry of the single nave chapel, it was built about the end of the eleventh century.

The apse has a blind arcade to support the cornice as at Marcevol (Fig. 8). The span of each arch is less than that at Marcevol. The one window in the apse with the voussoirs still intact has monolithic jambs.

The intrados of the nave vault is slightly pointed. The east end meets the wider semicircular vault of the choir in a simple joint. The north and south nave walls consist of two heavy arcades with an outer covering which appears to have been built separately. It is not keyed throughout its thickness to the arcades. This outer wall is the only support for the choir vault, as the arcades do not go further east than the choir. It is difficult to understand why the arcade was thought necessary for the nave and not for the choir vault.

The arches of the arcade have imposts, but not the nave vault, which springs from the extrados of the arcade keys. The imposts on the piers are bevel moldings, as at Marcevol. The easternmost pier has the molding returned around three sides, as are base moldings for all of the piers. Patches of plaster on the vault indicate that it was once stuccoed and probably painted.

A favorite theory to explain the north and south wall construction is that the arcade does not belong to the original structure, but was added as a lining to the outer wall when a vault requiring a heavy wall replaced an original wood roof. The window in the south wall next to the door is partially blocked by the arcade and seems to support the theory.

It is difficult to accept such a theory. There is no evidence that wood was ever used to roof the nave. The vault over the choir is semicircular, and probably produces more thrust than the pointed vault of the nave. If wood was originally used, why were the choir vaults left to be supported only by a wall designed to carry a wood roof when the nave wall was thickened?

As at certain other small churches, the intention of the designer may have been to build a three-aisle church with a vaulted nave slightly higher than the one now in place. After the apse and nave arcade for the vault were begun the plans were changed. The available funds may have been exhausted, the community may have grown smaller, or some military attack may have seemed imminent. The builders abandoned the side-aisle plan and a high vault. Instead, a wall was built outside of the arcade and a low vault was then built over the nave.

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1. *Marca Hispanica*, Appendix clxiv, *Bulla Sergii IV pro monasterio Cuxanensi*.
2. *Karta VIII Kalendas Augusti*, Anno XXVIII, Archives of Pyrénées Orientales, fonds de Canigou, called *Agullana*.
3. *Marca Hispanica*, title 307.
4. Archives of Barcelona, St. Anne No. 486.
5. Pierre Hélyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieuses et militaires* (Paris, 1714–19), II, 114.
6. *Marca Hispanica*, Appendix ccccxxxix.
7. Archives of Vinça Hospital.
8. *Liber feudorum*, A, fol. 65, Archives of Pyrénées Orientales, B. 15.
9. *Bulletin Archeologique*, 1893, p. 351.
10. José Puig y Cadafalch, *Géographie et les origines du premier art Roman* (Paris, 1935), p. 132.
11. José Puig y Cadafalch, *La Catalogne à l'époque Romane* (Paris, 1932), p. 102. The same motive is found in a tenth-century Syrian gospel by Rabula.
12. M. S. Stym-Popper, architect en chef du gouvernement, S.A.D.G., to whom I am indebted for much information concerning the small churches of the Pyrénées, told me that the vaulting is known to have been repaired in 1476. The extent of the work is not known, but it could have included replacing the north side aisle.
13. Several examples of the nave and two-aisle plan, each part vaulted, appeared in Roussillon as early as 839 when the church of L'Ecluse Haute (near Le Boulou and Le Perthus) was consecrated (*Marca Hispanica*, 763). St. Mary of Amer in Catalonia was consecrated in 945 (P. J. Villanueva, *Viajes Literario* [Madrid, 1806], XIV, 219, 220; 307, 308).
14. Archives of Vinça Hospital.

SPACE AND MOVEMENT IN HIGH BAROQUE CITY PLANNING

PAUL ZUCKER

DRAMATIZATION and the suggestion of movement have been generally accepted as characteristics of the Baroque style since the publication of Heinrich Wölfflin's *Renaissance and Baroque* half a century ago. Numerous authors have developed this concept further and applied it to painting, sculpture, and architecture as against the more static *concinnitas* of the Renaissance.

The space concept of Baroque city planning as it appears in the shape of Baroque squares, for example, may be compared but not identified with the concept of space in a painting by Rubens, in a sculpture group by Bernini, or in the interior of a Baroque church.

The specific spatial elements which characterize Baroque city planning have hardly been analyzed. Some authors [1] have touched these problems, but even Lavedan in his comprehensive *History of City Planning* is as little interested in them as were Sitte and Unwin.[2] This lack of interest might be explained by the impress left by the great French classicist tradition of the *places royales* as *the* epitome of city planning all over Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. Hence the other expression of the Baroque style, the Berninesque trend, receded in the writers' conception of the 17th and 18th centuries.

The meaning of the term Baroque is twofold. Historically, the Baroque era stretches from about Michelangelo's death in 1564 to the middle of the 18th century, when the period called either Neo-Classicism or Classical Revival sets in. However, the aesthetic development does not coincide with the historical evolution. What is historically called Baroque divides aesthetically into two tendencies. On the one hand it is the Baroque derived from Michelangelo, exaggerating and contorting the more placid forms of the High Renaissance, accentuating individual parts within a whole, dramatizing and emphasizing volumes and masses. On the other hand, during the same centuries there exists the classicist approach, based on Palladio and the Vitruvian Academy, leaning heavily on ancient examples, regular, reticent in expression, sometimes of a certain dryness, which often leads to the reproach of "academicism."

This latter trend prevailed in France, but in Italy the Baroque dramatized the more formal schemes of the Renaissance, thus relinquishing the basic idea of *concinnitas*. This ideal, which implied organized regularity as the governing factor, faded and there developed an unlimited variety of freer solutions on a larger scale.

As the handling of light in German, Spanish, or Mexican churches of this period expresses the climax of Baroque interiors, so "arrested movement" represents the climax of Baroque ideas in city planning. In both of these "super-Baroque" developments it is the new relationship and integration of mass and volume, a new employment of light and shadow which adds a new element to those form-shaping factors which had defined the earlier Baroque.

To define the meaning of "arrested movement," one does best to compare works of the late 16th century, the early Baroque—e.g., Michelangelo's Campidoglio and the original Piazza del Popolo in Rome—with creations of the 17th century.

The Campidoglio (Fig. 1), the square before the Capitol in Rome, is not an entirely free and spontaneous creation of Michelangelo. He was bound by two already existing structures on top of the Capitoline Hill: the ancient Capitol (Palazzo dei Senatori), reconstructed 1389 under Pope Boniface IX as a kind of mediaeval town hall, and the Palazzo dei Conservatori, built under Pope Nicholas V in 1450.[3]

Commissioned by Pope Paul III in 1538, Michelangelo first leveled the irregular top of the Capitoline and brought from the Lateran the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. He envisioned the future piazza as a trapezoid because the two existing buildings there were placed at an oblique angle to each other. Thus he planned a third palazzo, the present Capitoline Museum, facing the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and at the same angle to the Capitol. Although the difference in width between the Capitol building and the smaller entrance side of the trapezoid is about 14 yards, the spectator becomes hardly aware of it. Nonetheless its perspective helps to monumentalize the Palazzo dei Senatori. This stage effect already suggests a movement towards the background, a typically Baroque trait. The strongly emphasized horizontals of the two lateral palaces

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PAUL ZUCKER *of the Cooper Union Art School and New School for Social Research gives us a preview of part of his forthcoming book,* TOWN AND SQUARE—from the Agora to the Village Green.

are set lower than the corresponding horizontals of the façade of the Palazzo dei Senatori. Thus the height of the latter—8 yards above the eaves of the lateral structures—is visually increased. It is still more accentuated through the vertical of the tower behind. The verticals of the Corinthian columns tie together all three structures as do the lateral arcades which face each other, accelerating the movement towards the background structure. The shorter entrance side is closed by a balustrade adorned by the ancient Dioscuri statues and it functions as an imaginary fourth wall. The access from the ramp of the so-called Cordonata (built by Giacomo della Porta) prepares for the movement into depth. The pavement whose oval pattern centers around Marcus Aurelius's statue, climbs slightly towards the pedestal and increases further the spatial sensation. If this square looms much larger in our visual memory than it is actually, it bespeaks the power of its scenic organization. Michelangelo employed all artistic means to suggest movement and to dramatize the backdrop—both typically Baroque devices. Yet, this movement which is forced upon the spectator is still in a straight line and not arrested.

Movement in one direction is also the principal motif of the Piazza del Popolo in Rome in its original form, prior to Valadier's alterations of 1816 (Fig. 2). This first comprehensive Baroque town-planning project was not confined to a single square but comprised a whole section of the Eternal City.[4] The Piazza del Popolo with radiating streets became the ancestor of all such fan-shaped combinations of squares and streets in Europe. It was laid out under Pope Sixtus V who defined the whole organization in 1589 by setting up an obelisk as the hub of the radiating streets. The basic system (the converging Via Ripetta, Corso, and Via Babuino) had already existed in antiquity,

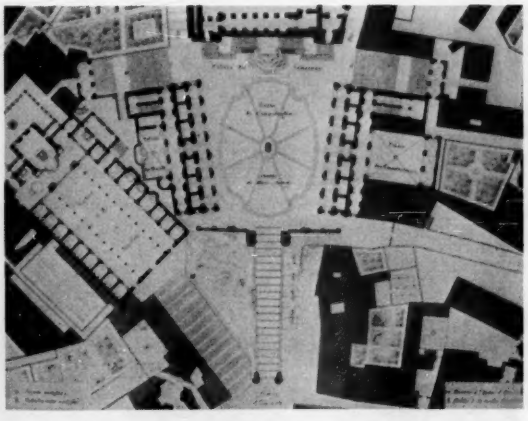


Fig. 1. Rome. Campidoglio, plan.
(Letarouilly, *Edifices de Rome moderne*, 1840)

Fig. 2. Rome. Piazza del Popolo.
(G. A. Vasi, *Raccolta delle piu belle vedute antiche e moderne di Roma*, 1803)

though in a less regular form, determining the whole quarter between the Pincian Hill and the Tiber River.

In its original trapezoid shape, stretching from the Porta del Popolo towards the two symmetrically located domed churches of Santa Maria in Monte Santo and Santa Maria dei Miracoli, the square showed its force most clearly. The stream of incoming travellers was split in three different directions and dispersed all over the city and the two churches served as a triumphal entrance arch. This current is visualized as moving uninterrupted in one direction, as on the Campidoglio, directed by the gradual broadening of the trapezoid—no barrier, no arrests.

All this was to change fundamentally in the later 17th century. Then suspense and surprise were to become the ultimate ends of architectural organization based on the concept of arrested movement.

Six Roman squares express best what seemed the ideal relationship between space and movement to the artists of the late Baroque: the Piazza di San Pietro, the Piazza Navona, the Piazza di Spagna, and—on a smaller scale—the squares in front of Santa Maria della Pace, San Ignazio and the Trevi Fountain.

The story of the Piazza di San Pietro (Fig. 3) is too well known to be repeated here.[5] The scale of the colossal columns of the church's façade became the point of reference for the proportions of Lorenzo Bernini's St. Peter's Square. In competition with Francesco Rainaldi and other leading contemporary architects, Bernini developed a series of projects rather wide in range. One ground plan, for instance, emulated the figure of the Crucified with the contortions of the arms as the pincers of the colonnades, the head outlining the basilica proper, etc.; in another sketch, with two-storied colonnades, buildings to the left of the church corresponded exactly to the Vatican on the right. The final plan commissioned by Pope Alexander VII was executed by Bernini between 1656 and 1667.

Bernini [6] had to take in consideration the location of the gigantic obelisk erected by Domenico Fontana in 1586 and the fountain on the right-hand side (by Maderna, 1613—its counterpart was finished only after the completion of the square). Bernini conceived of the square as subdivided into three units: the *piazza retta*, immediately before the church façade; the *piazza obliqua*, appearing as an ellipsoid through the pattern of the pavement, but actually constructed as two half-circles and a rectangle in between; and the third, the Piazza Rusticucci, never brought into a definite artistic shape and today part of Mussolini's avenue linking St. Peter's with the Tiber River.

The Piazza Rusticucci collected and directed approaching visitors toward the *piazza obliqua*. Surprisingly, the long (main) axis of the *piazza obliqua* does not lead towards the church but runs north and south, parallel to St. Peter's main façade. This change in direction astonished the contemporaries most and aroused their criticism.[7] Actually this very arrangement arrests the movement towards the church, thus creating the spatial tension so desirable from the viewpoint of the late Baroque. Bernini laid the *piazza obliqua* at right angles to the main spatial thrust because he wanted to achieve a kind of brake in the movement towards the façade—not because of the existing structures.[8] He emphasized the longer north-south axis through the arrangement of fountain-obelisk-fountain in one line, and especially through the sloping of the piazza towards its center. The pattern of the pavement with its spikes radiating from the obelisk is not only of two-dimensional importance, it also ties together the colonnades and the verticals of obelisk and fountains and makes the floor appear as a flat shell. The open colonnades around the *piazza obliqua* consist of four concentric rows of columns. Where these open pincer-like colonnades of the *piazza obliqua* meet with the closed corridors framing the *piazza retta* there is a kind of narrows; a second visual barrier or imaginary stop is created.

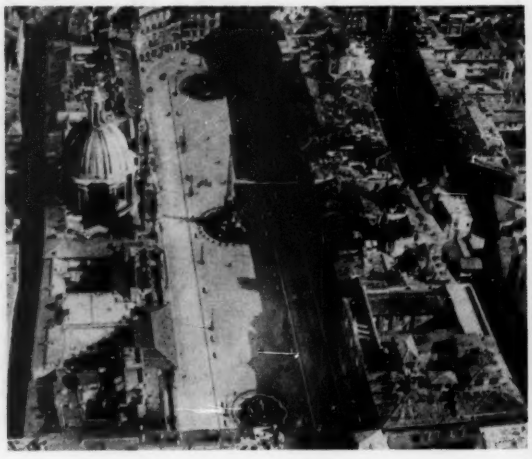
The *piazza retta* then rises towards the church and this difference in level is accelerated through the steps which protrude more than eighty yards into the piazza. Most decisive is the oblique direction of both side-wings, diverging in the direction of the church—a device similar to that employed by Michelangelo in the Campidoglio. Since anyone approaching naturally supposes that the framing wings meet the façade at right angles, Maderna's much too broad front (width to height, 2.7:1) is perceived automatically as narrower than it actually is. This concentrating effect is further increased through the compactness of the closed lateral corridors, whose height decreases slightly towards the façade.[9]

The spatial effect of the whole sequence—street-Piazza Rusticucci - *piazza obliqua* - *piazza retta*—amounts to a change from limited expansion to release arrested by the row of fountain-obelisk-fountain. Gradual concentration through the narrowing wings leads to a second visual barrier and beyond to final concentration on the façade.

One of the most beautiful squares of the world, the Piazza Navona (Fig. 4), was created by Bernini out of an ancient circus whose contours were marked by surrounding houses. To appreciate fully the originality of Bernini's transformation one has only to compare this square with the Piazza dell'Anfiteatro Romano in Lucca (Anfiteatro Mercato) which also occupies the site of an ancient circus and follows its form. Baroque artists discovered in the 17th century the eminent fitness of the area of Domitian's ancient circus for an impressive square, today the Piazza Navona. Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi in collaboration with Francesco Borromini [10] built the Church of Sant'Agnese

Fig. 3. Rome. Piazza di San Pietro, aerial view. (Belvedere)

Fig. 4. Rome. Piazza Navona, aerial view. (Alinari)



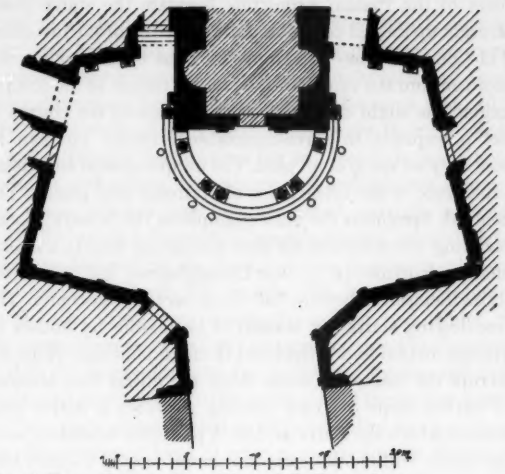


Fig. 5. Rome. Square, Santa Maria della Pace, plan.

Fig. 6. Rome. Square, Santa Maria della Pace. (G. A. Vasi, *Raccolta . . .*, 1803)

(1652–77) whose façade became an essential element for the Piazza. The expansion of the church façade in broad horizontals and especially the location of its cupola, rising immediately behind the façade in contrast to all other Baroque churches, show that the architects were fully aware of the narrow width of the square. They counted on oblique perspectives obtainable from various spots on the Piazza rather than on the usual central perspective. Connected with the church on either side were small palazzi whose architecture was integrated with that of the church. But it is the ornamenting of the Piazza Navona by Bernini that actually defines its spatial form. Bernini placed the Fountain of the Rivers (1647–51) crowned by the ancient obelisk of Domitian on the longitudinal axis of the square, but off the central axis of Sant'Agnese. The southerly Fontana del Moro already existed at the end of the 16th century and Bernini remodeled it only with his sculptures; the Fountain of Neptune on the north side with its sculptures was also projected by Bernini but was executed from his models only in the 19th century. Through this arrangement of the three fountains Bernini turned the passers-by towards the façade of the church, in this way changing the direction of movement from a mere passing along an avenue.

The singularly festive character of the Piazza Navona has been always apparent; it is based on the contrast between the dynamic sculptural volumes of the three fountains with their display of cascading waters and the relatively quiet and neutral frame of the surrounding houses, hardly interrupted by incoming streets. Only the façade of Sant'Agnese takes up the colorful orchestration of the three focal points on the square. Small wonder that in the 18th century during the Roman carnival this exceptionally festive piazza was often flooded, with gondolas replacing the carriages of nobility to create a naval spectacle. After all, during the 18th century no sharply defined borderlines existed between city planning and architecture, between architecture and decoration, between decoration and stage design, between stage design and landscape architecture.

This interplay between the concepts of city planner and stage designer unfolds still more clearly in the squares of Santa Maria della Pace, of San Ignazio and the Piazza di Spagna. It is more than a chronological coincidence that Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), Ferdinando Bibiena (1657–1743) and Francesco Bibiena (1659–1739) worked together with the then leading architects and doubtlessly influenced each other strongly. Even one generation later Piranesi in his engravings created visions of public squares and monumental perspectives which elaborated on the ideas of these preceding architects and stage designers.[11]

Much as the period indulged in the employment and display of large masses and vast expanses, its characteristic tendencies expressed themselves just as originally in some solutions of a smaller scale. The little squares in front of the churches of Santa Maria della Pace and San Ignazio are actually parvis dominated by church façades and inseparably tied to them. Here also, within smaller areas we experience the same arrested movement, the spatial staccato, which distinguished the organization of the larger squares. In both instances people entering the squares from the neighboring streets are not led directly to the church entrance, but their movement is diverted and broken by the fluctuating frame of the surrounding houses.

Opposite Santa Maria della Pace (originally built 1480, remodeled together with the piazza by Pietro di Cortona, 1657) the principal street runs into the piazza at an oblique angle and two smaller streets unobtrusively cut in close to the façade (Figs. 5 and 6). Out of these given, rather chaotic conditions only a Baroque architect could create a unified spatial shape. The two stories of the church façade form contrasting curves, the upper part bent back-

wards, while the lower one with its semi-circular porch protrudes into the square. This mutual penetration of volumes is mirrored in the ground plan of the square. The symmetry of the wings extending from the church façade is entirely unfunctional, the right wing framing the entrance to a street, the left pasted before a closed wall. In this way the unification of the area and the correspondence of its individual architectural elements are achieved—only to be broken up again and almost negated by the protruding porch and the staggering forms and angles of the piazza's confines.

Very similar is the stage-like effect of the small piazza before the Jesuit church of San Ignazio (begun 1626 by Orazio Grassi, façade by Algardi, 1649, completed after Grassi's design, 1686) (Fig. 7). The architectural elements of the surrounding houses are dictated by the overwhelming façade of the church. The triangular building opposite the church functioning as its counterpart represents little more than a stage wing, although it actually contains small apartments. Niches created by the curved walls of the houses opposite conceal the incoming streets so that the façades seem to be uninterrupted. Again, as with the square before Santa Maria della Pace, the symmetry is kept up by fake openings. Because of the size of the church front with its stairs, the by-passing street becomes visually negligible, which makes the square appear completely closed. If ever the idea of Baroque space with its fluid limits overflowing into each other is realized, it is here on this civic stage—just as inside the church.

The Piazza and Scala di Spagna (by Alessandro Specchi and Francesco de' Santis, 1721–25) represent the climax of stage effects in Roman city planning on a larger scale (Figs. 8 and 9). The triangular area of the Piazza, into which five streets run, serves as the starting point for the stairs which lead to the church of S. Trinità dei Monte (built 1459, façade by Domenico Fontana 1595, rebuilt 1816). Lorenzo Bernini's father, Pietro, had built a fountain, the so-called Barcaccia (1627–29) in the shape of a boat, repeating an ancient motif, and sunk it into the pavement of the Piazza. From this fountain the stairs climb straight up the hill continuing the direction of the incoming Via Condotti. They are stopped by the obelisk at the top and run into the center of the church façade at an oblique angle. The slight deviation from the axis of the church is not perceptible in three-dimensional reality but can be seen only on the ground plan. The unique spatial and visual experience is the integration of staircase and piazza. The Scala di Spagna is the only example in the history of city planning where a staircase does not merely lead to a monumental structure (e. g., the Campidoglio) but where the stairs themselves become the visual and spatial center. The free-flowing stairs are framed at both sides by houses of average height and articulated through landings which interrupt the successive steps. After the initial four sections of curved steps a larger landing provides a major stop around which the stairs divide. A platform extending over the whole width collects the movement to split it again into two ramps which end on the upper street level in front of the church.

The three-dimensional organization of the stair-piazza with its curved subdivisions, clearly marked by banks and balustrades, each time insert a *fermata* in movement which shifts the direction of the advancing visitor and his vista continuously. This organization represents the last stage of the High Baroque: the introduction of a forceful bilateral counter-movement, more than a mere arrest, against the earlier unilateral movement which was the ideal of the 17th century.[12]

The piazza in front of the Fontana Trevi (by Niccolo Salvi and the sculptor Pietro Bracci after an earlier project

Fig. 7. Rome. Square, San Ignazio, plan.

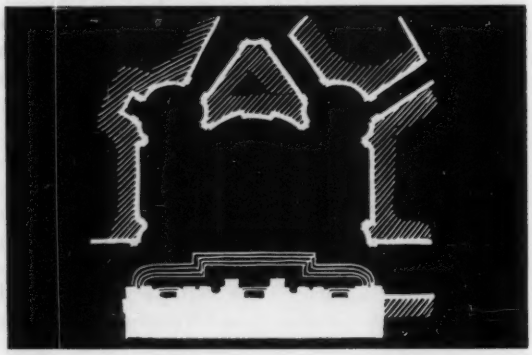
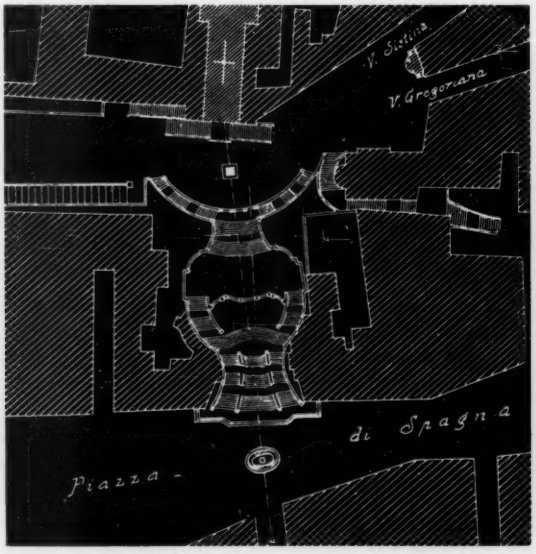


Fig. 8. Rome. Piazza and Scala di Spagna, plan.



by Bernini), an overwhelming interplay of architecture (static), sculpture (semistatic), and water (fluid), melting into one brilliantly orchestrated three-dimensional composition, represents a last echo and condensation of these three-dimensional concepts of the High Baroque (Fig. 10). The gable wall of the Palazzo Poli, more than 50 yards broad, offers the background for an illusory façade whose columns and niches, architraves and aedicula are genuine but whose window openings are faked, partially painted, partially in relief. From this façade's gigantic central niche Neptune descends in his chariot, drawn by prancing horses and lead by Tritons. The façade with its severe architectural order rises from seemingly natural rock which at the same time serves as the playground for the dramatic and lively performance of the sculptured figures and animals—all enveloped into the movement of the falling water.

The piazza proper, small as its two-levelled space is, must be perceived as a kind of secular parvis for the fountain. It is subdivided into an area opposite the fountain, actually not much more than a broadened street, and a level, ten steps below, framing the quiet surface of the basin which arrests the thundering whirl of sculptures, rocks, and water. Since none of the small incoming streets prepares for the sudden grandiose stage effect, here the element of visual surprise is most effectively employed.

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FIG. 9. Rome. Scala di Spagna. (EPC, Rome)

FIG. 10. Rome. Trevi Fountain. (G. B. Piranesi)

TAZEWELL HALL: A REPORT ON ITS EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY APPEARANCE

S. P. MOOREHEAD

THIS IS a condensed report to present the salient facts concerning the 18th-century appearance of Tazewell Hall and to aid in reaching decisions about the future disposition of the building. The investigation of the existing building uncovered a mass of evidence, some of which was seemingly contradictory. The unravelling of these tangles proved to be an arduous task. However, the facts are now at hand and an orderly solution to the problem has been worked out.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE BUILDING

(Figs. 1, 2)

The archaeological excavations have been completed, revealing much information about the original building, its location and outbuildings. The building was completely measured and photographed after which the interior lathing and plaster were removed, including certain portions of exterior and interior trim. The different periods of framing, interior finish, etc., were exposed and were recorded by notes, measured drawings and photographs.

The structure of the building is in fairly good shape as it stands, but this represents the 1836 rebuilding and the repairs made in 1908 when it was moved from its original location to the present one. Were it to be restored to its 18th-century form considerable replacement of original framing now missing would be necessary, while much strengthening of original framing would have to be done. Were the building to be retained as is, a general rehabilitation program would be in order, consisting in the main of replastering, electrification, repairs to roofing, weatherboarding, porches, windows, doors, etc.

ORIGINAL CONDITION

Importance in the 18th-century Town Plan

Although Tazewell Hall is shown on several 18th-century maps, the Frenchman's and Rochambeau Maps show its size and relative importance as a feature in the town plan best of all. As our studies progressed it became increasingly clear that this building and its dependencies represented a magnificent yet unusual example of an 18th-century architectural development. The town plan (Fig. 3) shows four large buildings with vista-like approaches: The Wren Building, the Palace, the Capitol and Tazewell Hall. The following list of dimensions of these buildings taken at right angles to the approaches is revealing:

Wren Building	137′- 5″
Palace (Including Flanking Buildings)	146′-10″
Capitol	81′- 0″
Tazewell Hall	138′- 6″

DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS PERIODS OF THE BUILDING

From the Records

From the records it is not possible to establish the date of erection of Tazewell Hall, nor the date when it assumed the appearance as shown in Figures 4 and 5. It is clear, on the other hand, that by 1762 there were houses facing South England Street in the vicinity in question. There are earlier references to Randolph buildings but they do not locate them for us among the several holdings of the family nor otherwise identify them. The earliest such date is 1732. In 1775 a deed of trust was made by John Randolph, the loyalist, to John Blair, Peyton Randolph and James Cocke. The house is clearly identified in this instrument and included in it was a detailed inventory corroborating the extensive size of the house and showing the magnificence of its furnishings. At this time it seems fair to assume that the plan of the house was substantially as shown in Figure 4 and elevation as in Figure 5. In 1778 the property was acquired by John Tazewell and remained in that family during the balance of the period covered in this report. The first insurance policy of the property now known, in which the house is inadequately described, was dated 1802. In a policy of 1809 it was more fully described being shown in plan with dimensions placed thereon. These dimensions agree very closely with those established by measurements

S. P. MOOREHEAD *of the Architectural Department of Colonial Williamsburg prepared this report in the line of duty to provide a basis for policy on Tazewell Hall. The report is dated Sept. 14, 1949.*

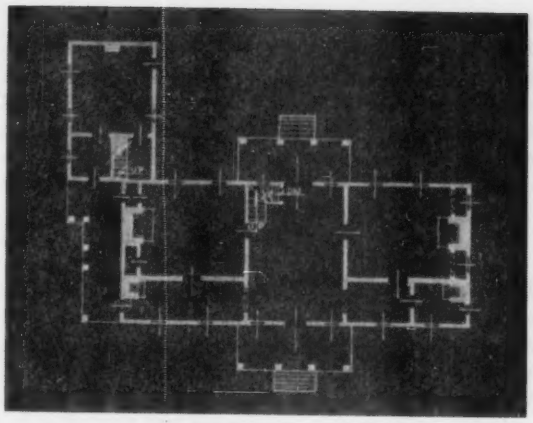

Fig. 1. Tazewell Hall. Plan, 1949. (Colonial Williamsburg)

Fig. 2. Tazewell Hall. East Elevation. (Colonial Williamsburg)

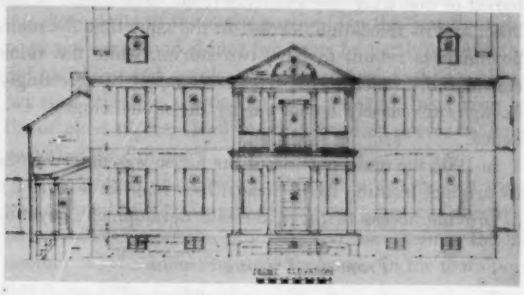

Fig. 3. Map of Williamsburg, Virginia. (Colonial Williamsburg)

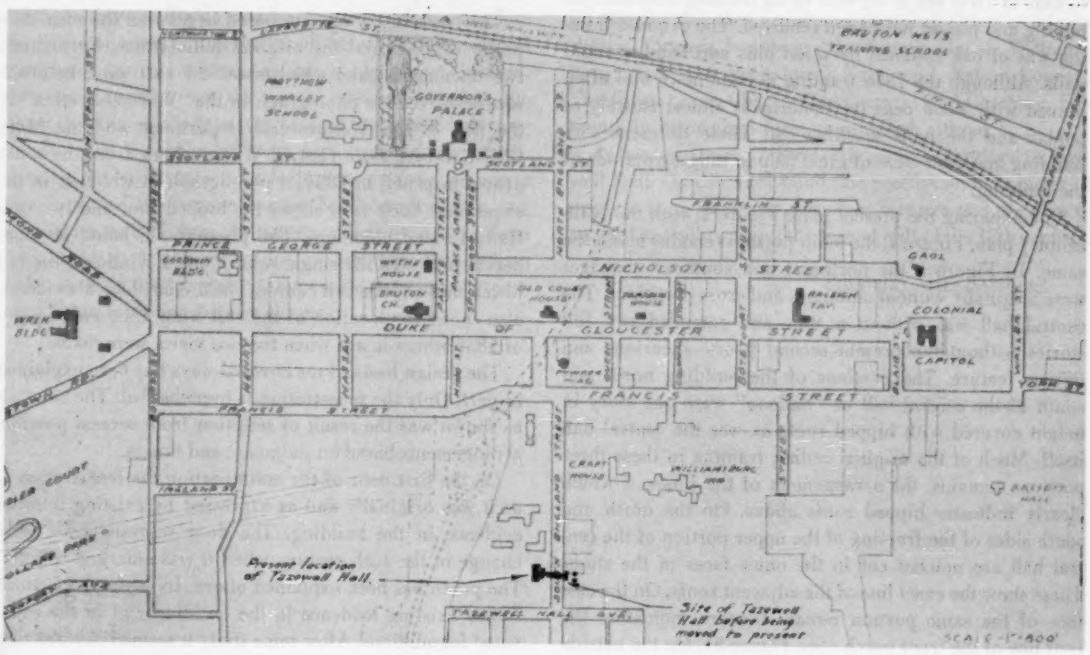

Fig. 4. Tazewell Hall. Plan showing 18th-century conditions. (Colonial Williamsburg)

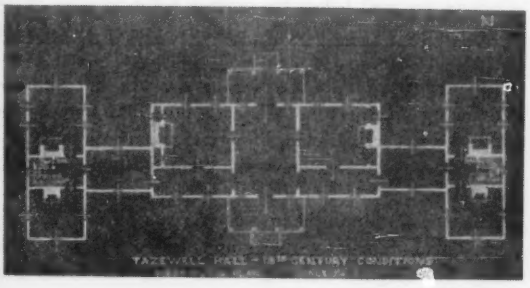

Fig. 5. Tazewell Hall. North elevation restored. (Colonial Williamsburg)

of the present house and of the old foundations. Policies of 1815, 1823 and 1830 indicate the continued existence of the earlier plan but show a decrease in value. At last, in 1836 comes a policy of importance which describes the removal of one wing (by inference), the detachment of the other and its relocation nearby. At the same time the main portion was rebuilt to have two stories, while the value considerably increased. These changes, interestingly enough, are closely borne out by the archaeological evidence.

In 1908 the main portion of the house was moved from its original location to its present location (see Figure 3) to provide access to the real-estate development beyond.

From the Existing Structure

The changes from the 18th-century form of Tazewell Hall to that of 1836 are to be seen in its framing now that the lathing and plaster have been removed. The original framing was of oak fastened by wood pins and hand-wrought nails. Although the 1836 framing is hand-hewn and often pinned with wood pegs the material is almost entirely of poplar and the nails machine cut. These differences in building materials were of great help in judging periods of the building.

In comparing the present plan, Figure 1, with the 18th-century plan, Figure 4, the main portion remains about the same. In Figure 1 the northeast and southeast passages were originally without chimneys and cross partitions. The central hall was without a stair and extended two full stories without the present second floor—a curious and unique feature. The portions of the building north and south of the central hall or "Salloon" were one story in height covered with hipped roofs as was the central hall itself. Much of the original ceiling framing in these three portions remains, the arrangement of the joists of which clearly indicates hipped roofs above. On the north and south sides of the framing of the upper portion of the central hall are notches cut in the outer faces of the studs. These show the exact line of the adjacent roofs. On the east face of the same portion remain notches indicating the roof line of the front porch (See Figure 5). On the outside face of the original studs of the north and south walls of the main portion can be seen the uneven slopes of the covered-ways which once connected the two-story wings with the main portion, while on the sides of the respective original studs of the north and south walls are notches where the plates of the covered ways were half-lapped for structural connections. Also, on the outer face of the existing original sill of the north wall are the mortices for the tenons of the former covered-way sills which again were structural connections. The dimensions between these, as well as the roof notches and plate notches, agree with the dimensions of the old foundations and the insurance policy of 1809.

From the Archaeological Excavations

The foundations excavated show the original structure except where digging was impossible in South England Street. Fortunately pretty complete evidence of the original wings, covered-ways and part of the main portion was uncovered which, as mentioned above, proved the accuracy of the 1809 insurance policy. Since the main portion of the building exists a complete picture of the whole layout was therefore possible.

The excavated foundations indicated chimney locations in the two-story wings, the fact that a full basement existed under all the original structure except the east wing, and the size of the front porch. The locations of several minor outbuildings were also determined, including an ice house.

Description of the Restored Elevation (Fig. 5)

The two-story wings are based in plan on the insurance policy of 1809 and the original foundations. Fortunately two documents exist which show the east wing before it was destroyed—a photograph in the "Ware Collection" in the files of the Architectural Department and the Mary Christian bird's-eye view of Williamsburg from the south drawn in pencil in 185?, a photograph of which is in the same files. Each view shows the hipped roof and two centrally located chimneys. The photograph, being in more detail, indicates the single square upper windows, the tall lower ones and the belt course. The archaeological evidence also shows the location of the east wing after the changes of 1836 where it was when the two views were made.

The design basis of the covered-ways has been explained in part. Only the fenestration is hypothetical. The solution as shown was the result of selection from several possible arrangements based on judgment and fitness.

On the first floor of the main portion the fenestration is as it was originally and as expressed by existing internal evidence in the building. The door represents an early change in the 18th century when it was enlarged slightly. The porch has been explained above. Its main proportions follow existing evidence in the building and in the excavated foundations. After some study it seemed obvious that the main cornice of the building must have continued around the porch as shown. The fact that the heads of the windows are well below the cornice helps to place those under the porch in a proper relation to the entablature of the porch cornice. The precise architectural order originally employed for the cornice, entablature and columns is a matter of conjecture and needs more future study if it is decided to carry drawings for restoration to completion. At the moment precedent at the Semple House has been relied on.

The fenestration in the upper part of the central portion presented a difficult problem and deserves some added study. The original framing of this wall, both front and

rear, is much disturbed and contains few old members. The head and sill window frame notches remain for the central opening and provide its vertical position, but the flanking windows are somewhat conjectural. The considerable distance from the cornice, which is a known original line, to the top of the windows is unhappy unless an entablature is placed under the cornice as at the porch. By so doing the design is greatly improved.

The Interior and General Remarks

Originally the interior of the main portion contained panelling, much of which is still in place. The two large rooms were fully panelled. The central hall and passages were treated with panelled dados. The central hall had a cornice at its ceiling line. In the 18th century, probably when the front door was widened, a series of large pilasters was installed in the central hall and the openings to the passages decorated with handsome arches. A curious fact about the pilasters is that the panelling of the dado was not readjusted to receive them, as one would expect. Instead, they were applied over the panels without regard to the panel spacing. A study of the tops of the pilasters reveals the fact that a cornice of some sort occurred over them. Whether added architectural features were installed above this intermediate cornice cannot be determined. In any case in its revised state the two-story hall must have been very striking. At the same time an arch was installed on either side of the fireplace in the southwest (Fig. 4) panelled room replacing former closets.

In 1836 the intermediate cornice was removed from the central hall when the second floor was added. At this time the stair was installed causing the removal of one of the pilasters. Thus the original upper portion of the central hall became a series of rooms as did the space above the former one-story parts of the main portion. On the first floor the passages were divided into two parts by partitions and the old panelling and cornices were rearranged while a chimney was added at the end of each passage. Inspection of the original adjacent wall and floor framing proves the later period of the chimneys.

From a study of the records it appears that the east wing was devoted to kitchen and service purposes and the west wing to living quarters, probably bed rooms, since the inventory suggests other uses for the rooms in the main portion (See Figs. 4 and 5).

The similarity of Tazewell Hall to Lower Brandon is startling in that they are almost identical. Other strikingly similar Virginia houses are the Semple House, Williamsburg; Battersea, Petersburg; Edgewood, Nelson County; The Rowe Farm, Charles City County; and Chatham, Falmouth in its original form—now much altered.

As has been seen, no precise date can be ascribed to Tazewell Hall. On the other hand, the profiles and character of original trim, panelling and other features and the plan in general strongly suggest the second half of the 18th century.

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

DETLEF LIENAU, AN ARCHITECT OF THE BROWN DECADES

ELLEN W. KRAMER

DETLEF LIENAU is still another forgotten nineteenth-century architect[1] of whose work only a small portion still survives. He was greatly respected in his day by his clients, many of whom were outstanding figures in the social and business life of the period, and also by the serious architects of the time, men such as Upjohn, Eidlitz, and Hunt. His career provides a vivid illustration of the contributions made by the professionally trained European architect to American architecture at a critical period in its development: the years immediately preceding the Civil War and those which followed it, so aptly called by Lewis Mumford "the brown decades."[2]

Lienau was born in 1818 in a small town in Schleswig-Holstein, which at that time was part of Denmark. After completing his schooling, he studied for several years in trade schools in Berlin and Hamburg. In 1841 he went to Munich to study architecture at the Königliche Baugewerksschule. The program at schools of this type, designed to meet the requirements of secondary architects and contractors, was concentrated chiefly upon mathematics and construction.[3] Lienau quickly made his way to the top of his class but evidently felt that he had absorbed as much as the school had to offer, for by 1842 we find him in Paris, a fitting climax to the *Lehr und Wanderjahre* of an architectural student of this period. It was here that he received most of his training. He worked in the atelier of Henri Labrouste who is remembered today as the architect of the radical Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève and the leader of a small group of architects in France who were working towards a more rationalistic approach to problems of architectural planning, design, and construction. A collection of some two hundred extremely fine drawings by Lienau, dating from 1836 through 1847, still survives as evidence of the broad interests, courses of study, travels, and early commissions of the young architect.[4] In 1847 Lienau got his first job, as a draughtsman in the architectural office of the newly organized Paris-Lyons railway company. A few months later he won first prize in an open competition held throughout Germany, Austria, and Denmark for a municipal hospital for the city of Altona.[5]

In spite of such a good start, doubtless because of unsettled political conditions in Europe, Lienau sailed for America at the end of October 1848. Upon his arrival in New York he was warmly welcomed by his older brother Michael who had established himself here in business some years earlier. New York must have seemed decidedly provincial and somewhat raw to a man who had seen Berlin, Munich, Paris, and London. Lienau spent his first year here familiarizing himself with the language, customs, and architecture of this new and strange land. The year 1850, however, already finds him listed in the *New York City Directory* as a practicing architect in partnership with a young Frenchman, Léon Marcotte. This association lasted only a few years for Marcotte soon turned to interior decoration, a field in which he made a great name for himself as a designer specializing in the French Renaissance.

The years from 1850 to 1887, with which we are concerned as represented in the work of Detlef Lienau, were among the most remarkable in our entire history. The days of a stable balance between agriculture and industry were over. The sense of equilibrium had vanished. Everything and everyone was on the move. Immigrants by the millions, of whom Detlef Lienau was one, poured into this promised land bringing with them their own traditions which, in due course, were absorbed into the mainstream of our culture. It is against this vital and shifting background that one must try to understand the architecture of the time. A single dominant style, such as the classic revival, was no longer capable of expressing the complicated tensions of the period; even the delicate balance between Greek and Gothic revivals, so long maintained, was impossible now. Still relying on the past for aid, architects searched for solutions to entirely new problems in building and construction. Slowly they became aware of their mission and function in the new society in which architects gradually acquired professional standing. Most important in this respect was the formation in 1857 of the American Institute of Architects, of which Detlef Lienau was one of the thirteen original charter members, along with Upjohn, Eidlitz, Vaux, Hunt, and others.[6]

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In effecting a reconstruction of Lienau's work, it has been most helpful to have had available the resources of the Avery Library including the corpus of between 700 and 800 drawings by Lienau, photographs of his executed work, and documents which comprise the Lienau Collection. This collection was given to the Library by Lienau's son, Mr. J. Henry Lienau, who has been generous in supplying me with biographical data. This material, together with other sources of information, such as the records of the Department of Housing and Buildings of the City of New York and personal correspondence, makes possible a fairly complete reconstruction of Lienau's practice from 1848, the year of his arrival in this country, to 1887, the year of his death.

Lienau's practice included almost every kind of building from simple cottage to great mansion, town houses, early apartment and tenement houses, commercial buildings of every description, banks, stores, office buildings, lofts, warehouses, and factories, as well as schools, libraries, and even a museum. An attempt will be made to show by means of selected examples some of the problems in domestic and commercial planning which confronted an architect arriving here from Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century. To be sure, Lienau was far better equipped to deal with whatever came his way than most of his colleagues, for, in addition to his excellent German and French training, he had an innate sense of the responsibility of the architect to build soundly and well, which is more than can be said of many of his contemporaries. Most of his work was done within a radius of some one hundred miles of New York City but he received commissions from as far afield as Germany, Canada, and Savannah, Georgia.[7]

Lienau's first commission, a house for his brother Michael in Jersey City, built in 1849, shows how quickly he adapted himself to American ways. The substitution of an extremely simple board-and-batten type of construction in the Downing tradition for the charming but more sophisticated Swiss cottage of the study is indicative of his quick absorption of the American vernacular style. The plan, too, is the typical center-hall type with the service quarters relegated to a rear ell. In the course of the next few years Lienau designed a number of small suburban cottages in New Jersey which are consistently more logical in design than comparable examples by Upjohn.

In 1850 Lienau was asked to draw up plans for Grace, also called Van Vorst, Church in Jersey City, a commission he owed, like many others later, to his brother Michael's excellent connections. Completed three years later, Grace Church opened its doors to the public for the first time on the occasion of the architect's marriage. Our plate (Fig. 1) shows the church as envisaged by the architect. Funds ran out before the tower was erected and it was not until 1912 that the present rather unfortunate tower was added. The church, built of a pleasantly variegated brownstone with a warm orange tinge, is a small and unpretentious structure. Later, two bays were added to the westward. Surrounded today by rows and rows of run-down tenements, Grace Church originally was built to serve a small, dignified, and still half-countrified neighborhood. The plan again shows Lienau's adaptability to current practice: the details and proportions are those of the traditional English parish church. The elevation, on the other hand, is interesting as an early example of an eclectic approach to architectural design, combining Early English Gothic with Italian Romanesque elements. Incidentally, there are a number of unexecuted church projects of the early 1850's which are interesting to consider in relation to C. L. V. Meeks's recent inquiries into *Romanesque before Richardson in the United States.*[8]

The first city residence designed by Lienau was commissioned in May 1850; it stood until 1923 on the southwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Tenth Street (Fig. 2). Here we come to an important stylistic problem. Built for Hart M. Shiff, a French banker and financier recently arrived in New York, this house brought to New York its first example of the Second Empire style. Interestingly enough, as Henry-Russell Hitchcock has noted recently, this was actually before its appearance in France.[9] The Shiff house with its low mansard roof,[10] prominent dormers, and sophisticated handling of brick and brownstone, caused a sensation; again and again it was singled out for praise and glowingly described as a French château in contemporary publications.[11] To us, the house may not look even remotely like a château, although a delightful old print from *Putnam's Magazine*[12] may help us to recreate the startled reactions of the "Avenoodles," as the Fifth Avenue dandies were nick-named. We must, however, place the house in its setting. Mr. Shiff's next door neighbor was Henry de Rham, the Swiss consul and a prominent merchant, who lived in an austerly designed classic revival house he had just purchased from the Brevoort estate.[13] At Twelfth Street was James Lenox' crenellated Gothic castle.[14] The classic, the Gothic, and the Italian—these were the alternatives before the building of the Shiff house. The new style immediately found favor in a city which was rapidly becoming "French in its conversation, French in its comforts and discomforts, French in its eating, French in its dress, French in its manners, and . . . French in its art," according to Anthony Trollope's somewhat sarcastic description.[15] The theme soon was taken up and developed by other architects, among them Calvert Vaux and, later, Renwick and Hunt. Richard Morris Hunt, who returned to America from Paris in 1855, is often mistakenly credited with the introduction of French influence to the United States. As for poor Mr. Shiff, he never lived in his house, for he died before it was finished. The house subsequently had a number of interesting tenants, among them Amos Eno. It served as the prototype for the house which plays

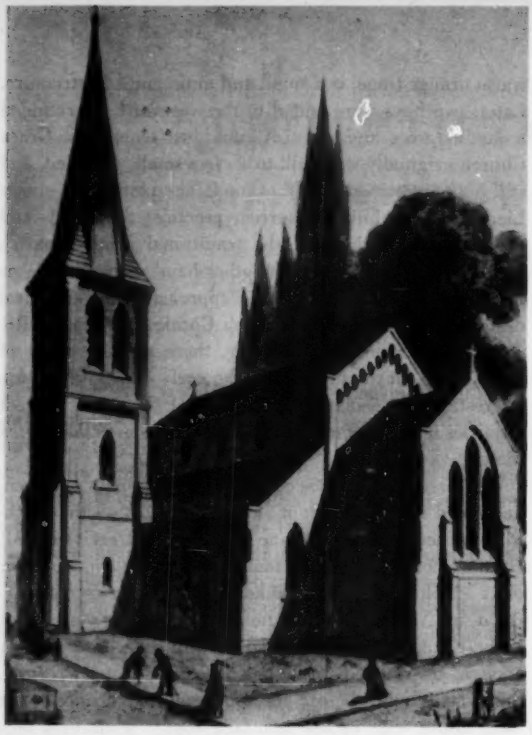

FIG. 1. Grace (Van Vorst) Church, Jersey City, N J., the architect's rendering, as originally planned, 1850. (From *Grace Church Messenger*, Whitsuntide, 1915. Lienau Collection, Avery Library, Columbia University)

FIG. 2. Hart M. Shiff House, 32 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1850. Now demolished. (Lienau Collection)

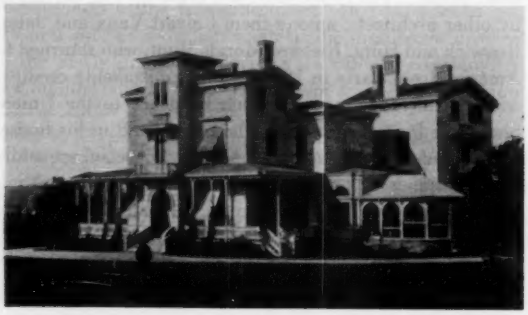

FIG. 3. Nuits, villa for Francis Cottenet, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., 1852 ff. (Lienau Collection)

FIG. 4. Beach Cliffe, villa for De Lancey Kane, Newport, R. I., 1852. Now demolished. (Lienau Collection)

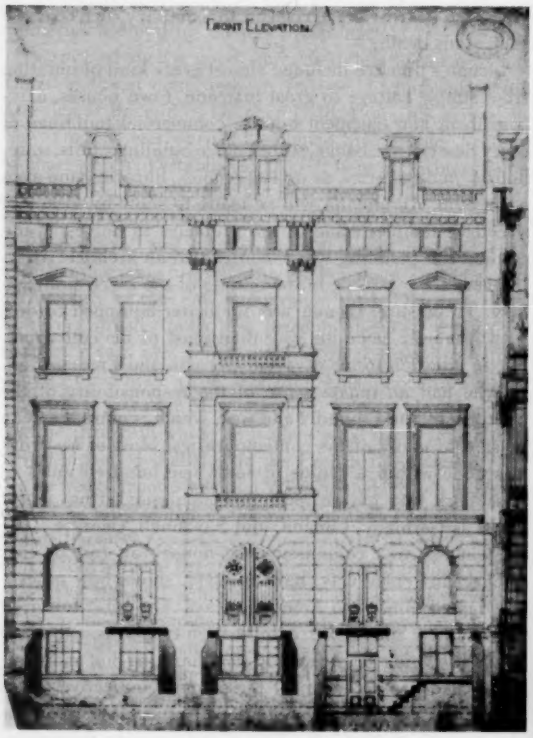

FIG. 5 Edmund Schermerhorn Residence, 45-47 West 23rd St., New York, elevation drawing, before 1869. Now demolished. (Lienau Collection)

FIG. 6. Row of Houses for Mrs. Colford Jones, 55th-56th Sts. and Fifth Avenue, New York, 1868-71. Now demolished. (Lienau Collection)

so important a role in Arthur Train's novel *His Children's Children.*

Diagonally across from the Shiffs, on the other side of Fifth Avenue, lived Francis Cottenet, a well-to-do French importer. Undoubtedly impressed by the goings-on across the street, in 1852 he commissioned Lienau to build him a suburban villa at Dobbs Ferry [16] which, without any question, is one of the finest examples of the Italian villa style of the period (Fig. 3). Magnificently situated on the banks of the Hudson, the house, built of Caen stone imported from France, is still in an excellent state of preservation. Originally a rather modest house, it was enlarged by Lienau within a few years of its construction by a rear extension. Cyrus W. Field and John Jacob Astor III were among later owners of the house which was described in 1866 by the historian Benson J. Lossing as the most elegant villa on the banks of the Hudson.[17]

Going a little farther afield, we have Beach Cliffe, a villa built by Lienau in 1852 for De Lancey Kane of New York, in Newport, Rhode Island, unfortunately demolished a few years ago (Fig. 4). De Lancey Kane was married to a granddaughter of John Jacob Astor and could well afford to startle the natives. Here, by means of the monumental handling of the façade with its banded rusticated columns, a deliberate attempt was made to impart to a resort "cottage" some of the glory of the great Renaissance palaces of France. The Kane house, along with Chateau-sur-mer, brought to Newport its earliest example of French influence,[18] later developed to its logical conclusions by Hunt in his châteaux for the Vanderbilts.

Returning to New York City proper, by the end of the '50's we find Lienau hard at work on Twenty-third Street, just west of Fifth Avenue, where he built two handsome residences for the brothers William Colford Schermerhorn and Edmund Schermerhorn, descendants of a famous old Knickerbocker family. William Schermerhorn, whose charming wife was Mr. Cottenet's daughter, is best remembered for his long service on the Board of Trustees of Columbia University, to which he donated the building known as "Schermerhorn Hall." Foreseeing the development northward of the city, the Schermerhorns began buying property on Twenty-third Street. Twenty-third Street in the early 1850's was still quite rural in character: at the corner of Fifth Avenue there stood "Madison Cottage," a popular roadhouse, where one might pause for liquid refreshment on a Sunday excursion to Croton Reservoir, 'way up on Forty-second Street. But with the opening of the Fifth Avenue Hotel in 1859, Twenty-third Street became the political and social center of the city.

By May 1859 William Schermerhorn had moved from the old family residence on Great Jones Street to his new palazzo, as it was called by George Templeton Strong,[19] on Twenty-third Street. It was a large house, eminently well suited to the lavish entertainments for which the Schermerhorns were famous; their musicales, theatricals, and costume balls were always important events of the season. Lloyd Morris tells us that Mr. Schermerhorn's house was filled with notable, if disquieting, examples of European art and that at one of their affairs a young debutante relative was greatly embarrassed to find herself standing beside an undressed statue and talking to a young man at the same time.[20]

The design of the house, simple, straightforward, the detail handled with great restraint,[21] makes an interesting comparison to the Rossiter house which had been designed by Hunt in 1855 while he was still in Paris.[22] Incidentally, in the famous lawsuit *Hunt* v. *Parmly,* which developed as a result of complications in carrying out the plans for the Rossiter house, Lienau testified in Hunt's behalf. This case established for the first time the legal rights of the architect in this country.[23]

It was in the double house for Edmund Schermerhorn, finished by 1869, that the full impact of French influence affecting plan as well as elevation hit New York architecture (Fig. 5). A carriage drive in the French city house tradition ran straight through the house with an exit provided on Twenty-fourth Street. The Schermerhorn residences have long since disappeared before the relentless advance of trade northward.

By far the most ambitious of Lienau's work in urban residential architecture was the block of houses built for Mrs. Rebecca (Colford) Jones from 1868 to 1871 on the east side of Fifth Avenue between Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Streets. As the years go by, we move farther and farther uptown. Indeed, one of the most interesting aspects of this type of study is the evidence it provides of the growth of the city. The great impetus to building in this section of town came with the creation of Central Park which was at that time far from central. Among prominent landowners here were Rebecca Jones and her sister, Mary Mason Jones, who owned the block between Fifty-seventh and Fifty-eighth Streets. Tax valuations relating to the Jones properties provide one with a fantastic picture of how the fabulous fortunes in New York real estate were built up.[24] The sisters had acquired their property upon the death of their father John Mason in 1855, when Rebecca's parcel was assessed at $30,600. By 1865 the same land was valued at $129,000 and only a year later at $292,000. Obviously, the property had become too valuable to hold without improving it and so the sisters began building, first Mary on Fifty-seventh Street, then Rebecca. Mary Mason Jones, whose word was law in society circles for half a century, was Edith Wharton's aunt and served as a model for the unforgettable Mrs. Mingott in *The Age of Innocence.* Sick to death of the monotonous rows of high-stooped brownstone houses which lined the Avenue, the sisters resolved to do something different. Mary Mason Jones' famous "Marble Row" [25] was built, according to one

report, from her own plans and modelled upon fond recollections of Fontainebleau and the Tuileries but actually was designed by Robert Mook, an architect unknown today, who did considerable building in the metropolitan area. Mrs. Colford Jones' row, built of light-colored Ohio stone, was designed by Lienau[26] (Fig. 6). The connection between the designs of the two architects, particularly of studies preliminary to the final version, is very close and one wonders whether or not Mook and Lienau, who both had offices in the Trinity Building, might have collaborated. In any case, these two blocks achieved a monumentality and set a standard of luxury unequalled in New York until the '80's. Landmarks in the city's residential architecture, they not only jolted architecture out of its brownstone rut but, by handling the block as a single sculptural unit in the French manner rather than as eight separate houses sandwiched together, they established an important precedent both in planning and in design.[27]

Before turning to other matters, I want to mention the Lockwood mansion in South Norwalk, Connecticut (Fig. 7). This house, built by Lienau for LeGrand Lockwood, a Wall Street broker and railroad man who had made his fortune during the Civil War, was described in the *New York Times* of August 5, 1867, before it was finished, as "scarcely without a rival in the United States." It was built like a fortress of granite and marble which was imported from Europe and hauled up from the river by ox-cart. A very large house, the mansion was built around an octagonal court and contained, among other items of interest, a private theater, thirteen bathrooms, and a lift. It is certainly one of the most grandiose mansions of the period, a precursor of the palaces of the "Gilded Age." A few old photographs of the interior have been salvaged which give some idea of the spectacular opulence generally associated with interiors of a somewhat later date. After the panic of 1873, the house, which had cost over $1,000,000 to build, was put on the market and sold three years later to Charles D. Matthews, a carbonated beverage magnate of New York, for a sum variously reported as $60,000 and $90,000. In 1939 the city of Norwalk purchased the property, known today as "Matthews Park." A plan is now under consideration to alter the mansion for use as a city hall.[28]

And now the reverse of the coin: one of the most urgent problems of the post-Civil War period was the necessity of providing adequate housing for the urban lower income groups which huddled together in teeming tenement houses of the vilest description. Alan Burnham has touched on Lienau's contributions to the early history of the apartment house in his recent paper on this subject[29] and so I shall discuss only one example of Lienau's work along these lines. In Fig. 8, illustrating the study and the contract drawing plans for a tenement house built in downtown New York in 1879, you will note a significant difference between what the architect would have liked to do and what his client, anxious to get the greatest possible return on his investment, permitted him to do. Both plans are variations of the dumb-bell type which became standard for tenements from 1879 on, after the much-publicized competition held by the *Plumber and Sanitary Engineer* early that year. It was as a result of this competition that the judges were forced to conclude that it was impossible to design a tenement fit for human habitation on the standard 25- by 100-foot New York City lot and still make it a profitable investment. In the interests of economy, washing and sanitary facilities, coal bins, the dumbwaiter, privacy within the apartment, and the attempt to provide some air space between the front and rear apartments have been sacrificed and replaced by a railroad flat with no conveniences whatsoever.

Turning now to the commercial and industrial sphere, we find that Lienau's work reflects faithfully the great changes in the economic fabric of the nation in the Civil War period and the years immediately following. The shift in character from a domestic to a commercial and industrial style in bank, office, and factory buildings provides an excellent means of appraising the immense gains made by the industrial, commercial, manufacturing, and financial interests in the metropolitan New York area in this period.

Nowhere in Lienau's work is this transition more apparent than in a warehouse built in 1864 for the French and Belgian Plate Glass Company, still standing in downtown New York,[30] though with two additional stories added. It was in buildings such as this that Lienau's rationalist French training and his North German love of the Romanesque brickwork tradition stood him in good stead. The warehouse achieves considerable power through its simple structural treatment, the incisive and rhythmic handling of the fenestration, and the interesting use of contrasting materials. Decidedly néo-Grec in detail, it has none of the restlessness and spotty quality which characterized some of Hunt's work in this vein, as in the Presbyterian Hospital. It was out of this tradition that Hunt's masterpiece, the Tribune Building, developed. Lienau's warehouse was pointed out for years thereafter as one of the best of New York's commercial buildings by critics of New York architecture, including Montgomery Schuyler.[31]

Crossing over the Hudson to Jersey City, we find in the sugar refinery built by Lienau from 1862 on an interesting and very early illustration of the effect of changes in methods of production upon architectural planning and design (Fig. 9). Aesthetically, the picture is far from satisfying but one must remember that these buildings were added one by one as needed: first, the building of 1862, which had to be enlarged within the next few years; then the building of 1867; finally, other buildings added in later decades. In other words, we have here an accurate visual record of the gradual transformation of small to big business. Ultimately, the refinery was taken over by the American Sugar Refin-

FIG. 7. LeGrand Lockwood Mansion, So. Norwalk, Conn., *c.* 1866 ff. Now known as Matthews Park. (Wayne Andrews)

FIG. 9. General View of the American Sugar Refining Company, Jersey City, N. J. Now demolished. (Photograph courtesy of American Sugar Refining Company)

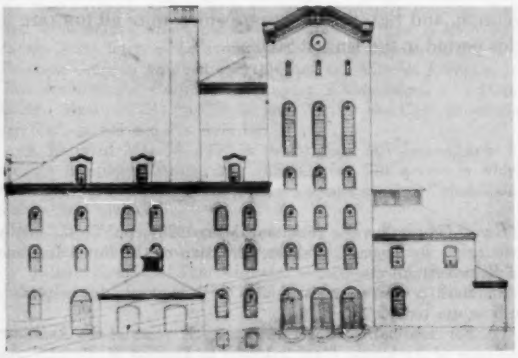

FIG. 10. First building for the Matthiessen-Weichers Sugar Refining Company, Jersey City, N. J., the architect's elevation, 1862. (Lienau Collection)

FIG. 11. Store and loft for Estate of Daniel Parish, 860 Broadway, New York, perspective rendering by J. August Lienau, 1883. (Lienau Collection)

FIG. 12. Loft Building for De Lancey Kane, 676 Broadway, New York, the architect's elevation drawing, 1873. (Lienau Collection)

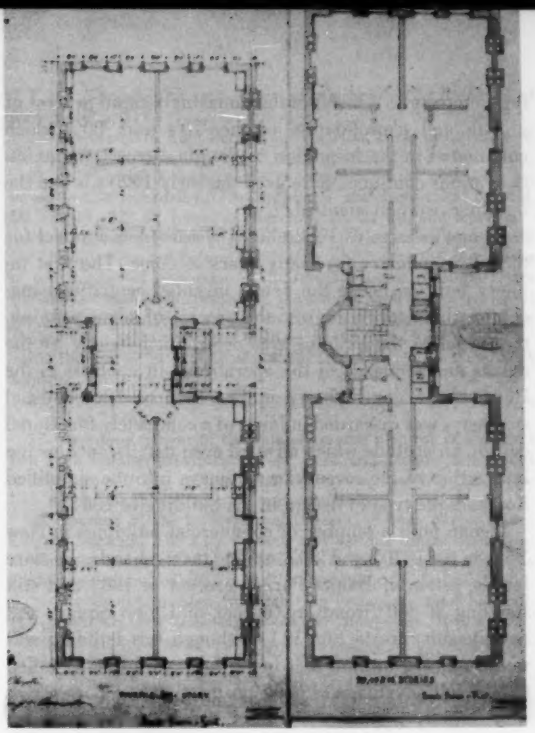

FIG. 8. Tenement House, Elm (now Lafayette) St., New York, 1879. Now demolished. Left, contract drawing; right, the architect's study. (Lienau Collection)

ing Company as a result of that amazingly rapid process of growth and consolidation of the '70's and '80's which culminated in the formation of the giant trust companies. Operations continued here until the early 1920's, when the buildings were dismantled.[32]

Lienau's design of 1862 (Fig. 10) served as a model for the sugar industry for many years to come. The first refinery built to house the newly invented centrifugal machines which revolutionized the process of sugar refining, the layout of the building was determined strictly by the nature and sequence of the operations. In contrast to the Havemeyer-Elder Refinery in Brooklyn of 1864, formal symmetry was discarded in favor of a completely functional design, an attitude which affected even details, such as the integration of the seven kiln chimneys into the simplified Romanesque type of design in the building of 1867.[33]

Lienau built a number of commercial buildings in New York in the 1870's and '80's, among them a handsome store for the estate of Daniel Parish, erected in 1883 and still standing at 860 Broadway, corner of Union Square and Seventeenth Street (Fig. 11). Although this building was well designed, we find that in his last years Lienau failed to take full advantage of new construction practices which were rapidly becoming standard. In this, as even in his seven-story office buildings, no provision was made for an elevator. The Parish building has undergone a number of alterations, external as well as internal.

Lienau's contribution in his late work lay not in innovations in construction but rather in the leavening influence of his designs. An elevation drawing of a building still standing at 676 Broadway, built in 1873 for De Lancey Kane, is by no means one of Lienau's most inspired creations (Fig. 12), yet it was prophetic of developments to come. While his contemporaries were designing in various exotic styles, in Victorian Gothic, in what they called "French Renaissance" style,[34] or even in Moorish, Lienau reverted to a rather dry classical treatment which was to be applied to office buildings and stores only later in the '80's and '90's. Thus, while he certainly must be credited with the introduction and with an important part in the development of the Second Empire style in this country, his great contribution was his role as a bridge between the classical traditions of the second quarter of the nineteenth century and their re-emergence in the '80's in the movement led by the firm of McKim, Mead & White. This tradition, along with a healthy respect for sound principles of construction, he passed on to the men trained in his office such as Paul J. Pelz and Henry J. Hardenbergh.[35]

Lienau died in 1887, having seen in his time the transformation of New York from the provincial town of the '40's into the cosmopolitan city and great cultural and artistic center of the '80's. To American architecture of the brown decades he brought a clarity in plan, honesty of execution, and restraint in design which were all too rare in this period in the United States.

1. This paper is based upon a doctoral dissertation in progress at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. The study of Lienau's work was suggested to me by Talbot Hamlin for whose advice and encouragement I am deeply indebted. I wish also to thank Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Richard Krautheimer and the staff of the Avery Library for their interest and assistance.

2. Lewis Mumford, *The Brown Decades, A Study of the Arts in America, 1865–1895* (New York, [*c.* 1931]), was an early attempt at a sympathetic re-evaluation of a maligned and misunderstood period. Other scholars who have dug beneath the surface of these extraordinary decades include Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Everard Upjohn, Carroll L. V. Meeks, J. D. Forbes, Vincent J. Scully, Jr., and Winston Weisman.

3. This information was provided by Paul Zucker. See also F. Sander, "Baugewerksschulen," *Lexikon der Pädagogik* (Breslau, 1889), p. 45.

4. Preserved in the Lienau Collection, Avery Library, Columbia University. Unless otherwise specified all the material discussed here may be found in this collection. See also the author's *Detlef Lienau: Catalog of Student Drawings and Early European Commissions, 1836–47* (revised copy, 1954), Avery Library. Thanks to Jean Vallery-Radot of the Bibliothèque Nationale, I was able to ascertain that about seventy of Lienau's student drawings were based directly upon drawings by Labrouste. See R.-A. Weigert, *Labrouste* (Paris, [1953]), the catalog of an exhibition of Labrouste memorabilia and Italian drawings held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1953. Lienau's drawings are interesting illustrations of Labrouste's teaching methods, so well described in *Souvenirs d'Henri Labrouste . . .* (Fontainebleau, 1928), pp. 21 ff., kindly lent to me by James C. Palmes, Librarian of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

5. Built several years later with some changes, the hospital is still in use today.

6. For information concerning the early years of the American Institute of Architects I am indebted to Everard M. Upjohn who made available an unpublished MS on this subject written by his father, Hobart B. Upjohn, and to the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects for permission to consult their files. My thanks also to Henry H. Saylor. Two short-lived publications, *The Crayon* (1855–61) and *The Architects' and Mechanics' Journal* (1859–61), contain much interesting material not available elsewhere.

7. Examples of his work are at Cruikston Park, Galt, Ontario, the estate of Matthew Wilks, whose son Matthew Astor Wilks married the daughter of the eccentric millionairess, Hetty Green; Hodgson Hall, the headquarters of the Georgia Historical Society; and the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, both in Savannah. Other buildings by Lienau include St. Mary's Hall, Burlington, and Suydam Hall and Sage Library, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, all in New Jersey, where Lienau maintained residence until he moved to New York City a few months before his death.

8. Carroll L. V. Meeks, "Romanesque before Richardson in the United States," *Art Bulletin*, XXXV (March 1953), 17–33.

9. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Second Empire 'avant la lettre,'" *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Ser. VI, Vol. XLII (1954), p. 130 and Fig. 13.

10. Bloor specifically credits the firm of Lienau & Marcotte with the introduction of the mansard roof in this country. See A. J. Bloor, "Report on Mansard Roofs," October 16, 1873, *Proceedings of the American Institute of Architects* (1874), p. 45. That the mansard roof was a novelty, although isolated examples may be found previously in the United States, is likewise indicated by Lienau's detailed explanation of the construction of a roof *à la mansard* in the carpenter's specifications for the house, p. 1.

11. *The Stranger's Handbook for the City of New York . . .* (New York, 1853), p. 89; "The modern architecture of New-York," *New York Quarterly Review*, IV (1855), 119, an interesting piece of architectural criticism, possibly by Clarence Cook.

12. *Putnam's New Monthly Magazine*, III (1854), 238. Putnam's ran a remarkable series of articles, unsigned, called "New York Daguerreotyped" in 1853 and 1854.

13. Illustrated in Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America . . .* (revised ed., London, 1953), Pl. XXX, lower right.

14. Illustrated in *Old Buildings of New York* (New York, 1907), p. 62.

15. Anthony Trollope, *North America . . .* (1862), ed. by Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth (New York, 1951), p. 204. See also Charles Astor Bristed, *The Upper Ten Thousand . . .* (New York, 1852), pp. 250, 257; [George William Curtis], *The Potiphar Papers* (New York, 1853), *passim*, and other writers and diarists of the period such as Philip Hone, James Fenimore Cooper, and George Templeton Strong.

16. In addition to the material at Avery Library, there is a small signed perspective study of the house in the possession of its present owners, Mr. and Mrs. J. Fearon Brown. See also [A. A. Turner], *Villas on the Hudson* (New York, 1860), Pls. 8, 9.

17. Benson J. Lossing, *The Hudson* (New York, 1866), p. 355.

18. The date of 1852, documented by the Lienau drawings and the records of the City of Newport, reverse Scully's opinion that the house represents an academic and retarditaire trend in Newport architecture which indeed it would have had it been built twenty years later, as he assumed. See his discussion of the C. J. Peterson house in Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 139–40 and Pl. 185. For Chateau-sur-mer see *ibid.*, p. 125 and Pls. 165, 183.

19. Entry of May 15, 1859 in the original MS *Journal* kept by George Templeton Strong, Vol. 1854–62, fol. 278, access to which was kindly granted me by M. Halsey Thomas, curator, Columbiana, Columbia University.

20. Lloyd Morris, *Incredible New York* (New York, 1951), p. 25.

21. The architect's elevation drawing for the house is reproduced in Talbot Hamlin, "The Rise of Eclecticism in New York," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XI, 2 (May 1952), 7, Fig. 8. There is also an excellent photograph in *Old Buildings of New York*, p. 114.

22. Illustrated in Alan Burnham, "The New York Architecture of Richard Morris Hunt," *JSAH*, XI, 2 (May 1952), 11, Fig. 5.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 10. A verbatim court transcript of the case, long believed lost, is recorded in *The Architects' and Mechanics' Journal*, III (1861), 222 ff., issues of March 9, 16, 23, 30, and April 6.

24. Of great assistance to the architectural historian, particularly for buildings erected before 1866 (after which date the plan books of the Bureau of Inspection of Buildings may be consulted), are the old tax assessment records of the City of New York, housed at the Municipal Archives and Records Center, a branch of the New York Public Library, at 238 William Street, New York City.

25. Illustrated in *King's Handbook of the City of New York* (Boston, 1893), p. 747.

26. The architect's elevation drawing is illustrated in Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 7, Fig. 9.

27. The development of the row or terrace plan, of which there had been isolated examples in New York architecture in previous decades, constitutes an important stylistic and sociological problem which might well merit a separate study.

28. Sparked by the leadership of Irving C. Freese, Mayor of the City of Norwalk, The City Council and various organizations, including the Daughters of the American Revolution and The Kiwanis Club, have interested themselves in preserving the building.

29. My thanks to Alan Burnham for letting me read his half-completed MS, *The Dwelling in Greater Manhattan, 1850–1950.*

30. An old photograph of the Noel & Saurel Building is reproduced in Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 7, Fig. 10.

31. "Recent Building in New York. II. Commercial Buildings," *American Architect and Building News*, IX (April 16, 1881), 183; *New York Weekly Review*, February 4, 1865, p. 3.

32. I wish to thank Harry Roberts of the American Sugar Refining Company, 120 Wall Street, New York, for making available not only the original Lienau drawings for the Matthiessen-Weichers Sugar Refinery of 1862 and the New Jersey Sugar Refinery of 1867, of which photostats are preserved at Avery Library, but also an interesting collection of old photographs of other refineries and two MSS by J. Henry Lienau dealing chiefly with the refineries designed by his father.

33. Cf. the building to the right in Fig. 9.

34. E.g., Mullett's neo-Baroque Post Office in New York City, now demolished.

35. Montgomery Schuyler, "Works of Henry Janeway Hardenbergh," *Architectural Record*, VI (January-March 1897), 335–75; Sadakichi Hartmann, "Conversation with Henry Janeway Hardenbergh," *ibid.*, XIX (May 1906), 377–80.

AMERICAN NOTES

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BALTIMORE MANSION, 1801–03

Some years ago your editor had the pleasure of occupying an apartment on North Charles Street in Baltimore with a view of Homewood on the Johns Hopkins campus. This house has been well known for a long time (as witness the publications cited below) but the facts of its construction have remained obscure. Mr. Perlman is preparing a paper on the subject to be published by the Maryland Historical Society as one of its splendid series on the domestic architecture of that state. Congratulations again to Editor James W. Foster!

FIG. 1. Homewood. View from the south.
(Johns Hopkins University Public Relations Office)

THE CONSTRUCTION AND COST OF HOMEWOOD

BY BENNARD B. PERLMAN

The finest remaining example of late Georgian country house in Baltimore is Homewood. It was built between the years 1801 and 1803 by Charles Carroll, Jr., son of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The house was the outgrowth of the younger Carroll's extravagant taste, and stands as the sole example of his architectural creativity.

The chain of events which culminated in the building of Homewood began on July 17, 1800, when twenty-five-year-old Charles Carroll, Jr., was married to Miss Harriet Chew, daughter of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew of Pennsylvania. Charles Carroll of Carrollton displayed his approval of the union by presenting the newlyweds with an impressive wedding present—a 122-acre tract of land on the northern outskirts of Baltimore. The Signer believed that the estate would provide a "cool, comfortable and convenient residence" during the summer months,[1] and a retreat from the recurrent epidemics of yellow fever and smallpox which were prevalent in the city.[2]

There were four frame buildings which already stood upon the grounds, so Charles Carroll of Carrollton recommended that rather than construct a costly home, the young couple might repair the existing structures. Though the elder Carroll was one of the wealthiest men in the Colonies, his keen business sense dominated his thinking, for he reasoned that "costly buildings on the place will impede the sale of it."[3] The Signer, therefore, advanced $1500 to his son for the necessary renovation.

But the new bridegroom had other plans. He envisioned a more sumptuous country house on the order of Brooklandwood, the residence of his sister, Mrs. Richard Caton, or Belvidere, where his wife's sister, Mrs. John Eager Howard, lived. Charles Carroll of Carrollton withstood his son's pleas until January 1801, at which time the elder Carroll was informed of the expected arrival of an heir the following summer. This news caused the aging Signer to succumb to his son's request and, accordingly, $10,000 was earmarked for the suburban home. Within a month construction was begun.[4]

The design for Homewood was more or less the creation of Charles Carroll, Jr. Although the gentleman architect must have been aided by his father's architectural handbooks, much of the inspiration for Homewood came from the many nearby suburban residences. Most of these had been completed prior to the year 1801, so that Homewood became, in effect, a summing up of the late Georgian country house in and around Baltimore.

There are a number of instances in which architectural elements of Homewood are anticipated in earlier neighboring houses. The garden façade of Belvidere (1794), for instance, bears some resemblance to that of Homewood. At Brooklandwood (1787) one finds a prototype for Homewood's uncommon treatment of a round-headed doorway flanked by two distinct, narrow windows. Furthermore, the flat-roofed porch at Brooklandwood, extending as it did to the edges of the two windows nearest the center motif, is reflected in the north porch of Homewood.[5] From Nicolas Rogers' Druid Hill (1797–1801), Homewood seems to derive its exterior proportions. Especially striking in similarity is the fenestration of the two houses.[6] General Sam Smith's Montebello (1799) contained many interior details where the scale and character of moldings appeared quite close to those in Homewood.[7]

Certainly some of the parallelisms cited can be attributed to the carpenter-builder of Homewood, William Edwards, who is thought to have executed the interiors of Brooklandwood and Montebello as well.[8] It is known that Edwards was fond of repeating certain motifs in the houses attributed to him. The reeded, sunken pilasters which appear throughout the interior of Homewood closely resem-

ble those found in a house on East Pratt Street, a room of which exists in the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Edwards acted as consultant to Charles Carroll, Jr., from the outset. On February 7, 1801, the builder submitted his estimate for the cost of constructing Carroll's proposed country house. Charles Carroll of Carrollton had already insisted that the outlay for the house and furnishings should not exceed the $10,000 allotted for that purpose, but when it appeared that Edwards' estimate would be higher than that figure, the Signer conceded: "I do not think that the plan of the house . . . can be reduced so as to make it comfortable, and therefore I agree to it." [9]

This marked the beginning of the friction which existed between father and son regarding the limit of financial responsibility which the elder Carroll would assume. By early summer the Signer complained of the excessive disbursements, especially those for horses, carriages, and furniture.[10] When several hundred dollars were spent for books, the father denounced his son's purchase as one which was "intended more to decorate your bookcase than for you." [11]

Charles Carroll of Carrollton became increasingly concerned over the mounting expenditures. By May 1802, the elder Carroll wrote indignantly: "I cannot support these heavy and frequent charges. It is with difficulty I can command money to pay your annuity and building account, and comply with my other engagements. I therefore shall not advance any more money for improvements . . ." [12]

But the Signer's pleas and threats fell upon deaf ears. A steady stream of correspondence from father to son indicates that Charles Carroll, Jr., made little attempt to comply with his father's wish to put an end to the continuous spending. On August 24, 1802, the elder Carroll stated that he could not and would not pay for any charges made after October of that year. "What an improvident waste of money—you are imposed on by your undertaker, who leads you into extravagant expenditures on your buildings to swell his commissions and his accounts. The time will come when you will severely feel and deeply regret so much money thrown away on such baubles, which a want of thought or a silly pride has occasioned you to spend without consulting me." [13]

Despite these continuous reprimands, work on Homewood progressed, for Charles Carroll, Jr., knew the way to his father's heart. The son had only to mention the cost involved in outfitting a nursery for the Signer's year-old grandson and the elder Carroll softened. The expenses continued.

Although Homewood was ready for occupancy by the winter of 1803, alterations and additional construction on the land dragged on for the next five years.[14] By 1808, the tired Signer conceded that the cost of building and outfitting the Homewood structures would "not fall short of $40,000.00," [15] an exorbitant sum, four times the amount he had originally earmarked for the project. But today, a century and a half later, we applaud the younger Carroll's determination to possess so elegant and distinguished a country house. It was this desire which was responsible for the creation of Homewood, the finest remaining example of late Georgian country house in Baltimore.

FIG. 2. Homewood. Interior.
(Johns Hopkins University Alumni Office)

1. John H. Scarff, *Extracts from Letters Written by Charles Carroll of Carrollton to His Son, Charles Carroll, Jr., Regarding the Building of Homewood*, five typewritten pages, Maryland Historical Society Library, p. 1. The originals are in the Society.
2. John H. Scarff, "Architecture in Baltimore," *Art and Archaeology*, XIX (1925), 221.
3. Carroll letters, *op. cit.*, February 12, 1801.
4. *Ibid.*, January 30, 1801.
5. Robert Erskine Lewis, "Brooklandwood, Baltimore County," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIII, 4 (Dec. 1948), 288.
6. Edith Rossiter Bevan, "Druid Hill, Country Seat," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV, 3 (Sept. 1949), 196.
7. J. Gilman D. Paul, "Montebello, Home of General Samuel Smith," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLII, 4 (Dec. 1947), 225.
8. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 288, and Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 255. I have been unable to date to uncover any biographical information regarding builder William Edwards. The situation is complicated by the fact that there were two carpenter-builders by that name practicing in Baltimore around the year 1800. Both are listed in the city directories for a number of years, but I have been unable to reconstruct even fragments of their lives.

9. Carroll letters, *op. cit.*, February 9, 1801.
10. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1801.
11. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1801.
12. *Ibid.*, May 8, 1802.
13. *Ibid.*, August 24, 1802.
14. Francis Warlow, "The Barn at Hopkins Renovated," *The* (Baltimore) *Sun*, April 28, 1931.
15. Carroll letters, *op. cit.*, July 31, 1808.

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Joseph V. Phelan and John Martin Hammond, "Homewood, Baltimore, Md." 2 parts. *Architectural Record*, XLI (May, June, 1917), 435–47, 525–35.

Thomas Eddy Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1927).

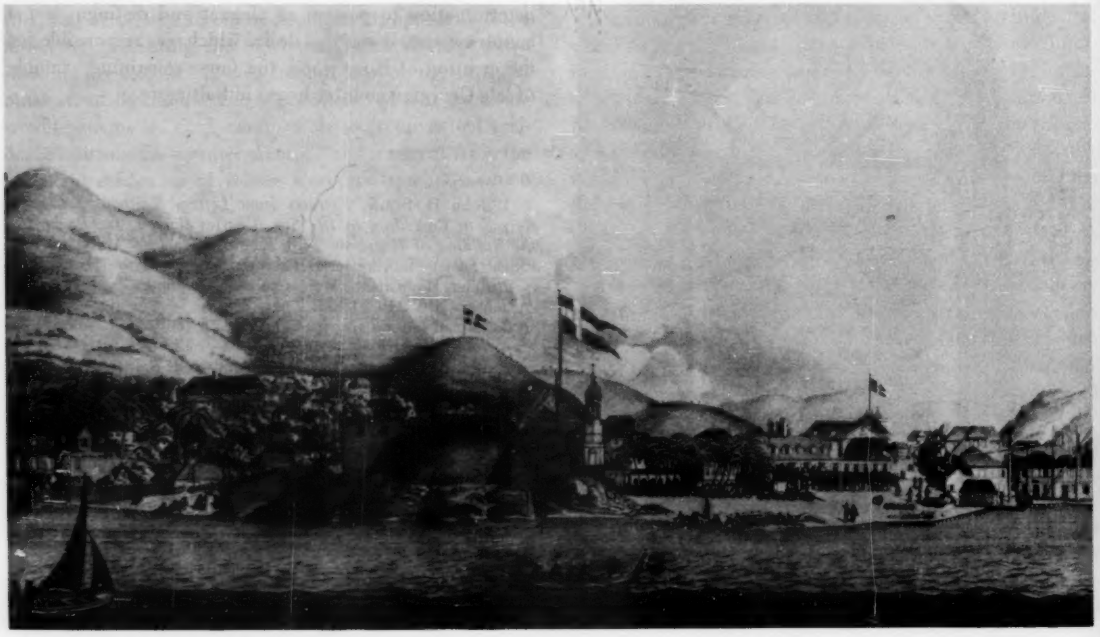
THE WEST INDIES

While our last issue was at press we were taking a fast trip through some of the Caribbean Islands discovered and settled before the shores of the mainland. All of them have architecture of considerable interest, though they have had little attention from historians.

The Virgin Islands

Christiansted, an old port town on the north shore of St. Croix in the American Virgin Islands, is perhaps the most colorful place under our flag. The St. Croix Landmarks League has been successful in getting a National Historic Site created there to help preserve some of the principal structures. The town, of 18th-century origin, covers a considerable area with a remarkable number of old buildings still standing. The private houses are mainly of British West Indies aspect (we understand that 75 per cent of the white colony was of English stock) and the public structures are Danish. The little brick fort on the waterfront, dating from the 1760's and looking like a cross between the real thing and a doll's house, is painted a passionate red. Outside of the town is an 18th-century

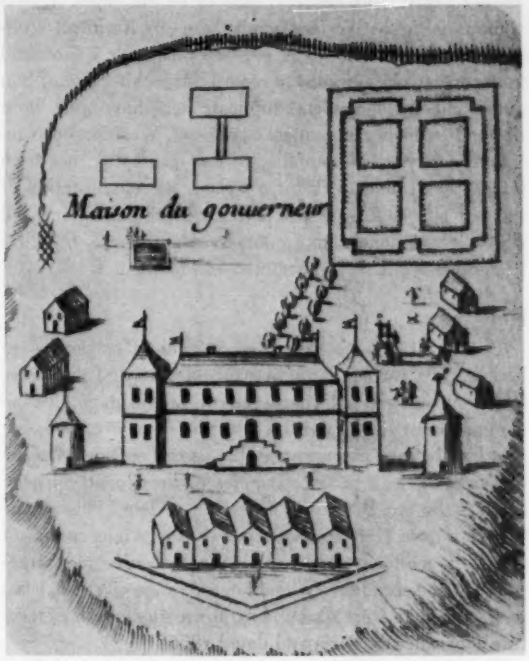
Christiansted, St. Croix. View of the city from a lithograph dated 1839. (Richard Richards Collection)



Moravian mission house—obviously a tropical cousin of the old ones at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Helen Bodine, SAH, of Newtown Square, has recently leased "Bjerget," an early house on a hill overlooking the harbor, and she welcomed us to the town. William Thayer, AIA, has bought and restored the mansion house of Estate Butler Bay on the west shore for his own use and has been effective in using his talents and personal means to save other architectural landmarks on the island. Richard Richards of Estate North Side some years ago made a collection of old views of St. Croix during a visit to Copenhagen, where such material seems to be plentiful, and we reproduce one herewith. As to St. Croix, we can only say that it is high time that architectural historians got busy there.

For many years we have been seeing small detached kitchen buildings in the Old South but never before had we been served a meal from one. Miss Keating's at Cruz Bay, St. John, is a nice little galleried wooden house with early details, lots of air circulating and not much privacy. While eating at the common board our hot dishes were brought in from a kitchen out somewhere behind. We ventured the opinion that the reason for this was to separate the heat and fire hazard from the living quarters. A local guest at the table thought it might be on account of cooking turtle. This dish, it seems, is fine to eat but hard to endure during preparation.



St. Croix. Plan and elevation of the Governor's House in the 17th century from a contemporary map. (Public Library, Charlotte Amalie)

Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Iron Market, 1886. (Byron Coroneos)

In the distance we saw the rugged outlines of Jost Van Dyke, the little island where Architect William Thornton was born about 1760. The Quaker Thorntons attended Fat Hog Meeting on Tortola and William was back there in 1792 when he decided to prepare the prize-winning design for the United States Capitol in Washington. Some day we are going to hire a small boat at Red Hook or Tortola and visit these islands, which are still British possessions.

Puerto Rico

In San Juan we were much impressed by the great stone fortifications once completely enclosing the old city founded early in the 16th century. El Morro and San Cristobal are the two most spectacular structures (said to rival those at Cartagena) and they are still occupied by the United States Army which has been there since 1898.

We were shown the recent restoration work in San José

church (early 16th century, said to be the oldest in continuous use in the Western hemisphere) by Architect Wolfgang Luesche. Fred Gjessing, SAH, has made a thousand kodachrome photographs to record the architecture of San Juan and two complete duplicate sets have just been ordered by local authorities. Carl Feiss, Washington planning consultant (and another of our members), has been laying the ground work for a large-scale rehabilitation of the old city to conserve and restore the interesting old streets while modernizing interiors. Here, again, little has been done in the way of architectural history.

Haiti

Port-au-Prince has two very individual categories of houses. The earlier of these—an old French frame type with stone-nogged walls plastered over and with galleries—is reminiscent of New Orleans and Ste. Genevieve. This type is still to be seen downtown in the poorer sections. On the outskirts of the city are examples of the second variety: there is the most fantastic collection of late 19th-century villas we have ever viewed. Our own Victorians could not match the mad assortment of turrets, balconies and bargeboards to be seen here. When you are in the city, don't fail to see the huge Iron Market downtown, an elaborate structure fabricated in Paris and dated 1886.

Highly recommended was a long trip by automobile to Cape Haitien (formerly Cap François) on the north shore of the island, along with Christophe's Citadel and San Souci Castle, but we didn't have the time for that.

Jamaica

In a brief visit to Kingston we re-excavated some of the interesting old pictorial records in the Institute of Jamaica. We hope to reproduce some of them when the problems of reproduction are solved. On the basis of former visits to this beautiful island, we recommend a visit to Good Hope and Tryall plantations (both of which have early and interesting architecture and which take paying guests) and to Spanish Town. We heard that one of the early buildings on the great public square of the latter place is being restored in conjunction with the royal visit expected early in 1955. Meanwhile, the delicious waters of the Doctor's Cave at Montego Bay await architectural historians weary of looking at old buildings.

NOTES ON NATCHEZ

In January we revisited Natchez, Mississippi, after many years, happy to find so many fine houses still standing. (At least half of the original collection are said to have burned or fallen.) We suppose that our greatest aggregation of ante-bellum mansions is to be found here, providing an opportunity well known to Hollywood producers of moonlight and magnolia epics. To the women of Natchez belongs the credit of the recognition and appreciation which has saved many of them.

Mount Locust, circa 1785

We were at Natchez to start the restoration of the house of William Ferguson on the Natchez Trace Parkway near Cannonsburg, Jefferson County. During the Spanish regime it would have been described as a plantation house on the waters of Cole's Creek in the Villa Gayoso District and nineteen miles northeast of the Fort of Natchez. It was built in a period of early and rapid growth for the population of the region nearly doubled between 1785 and 1788.

The old frame house, first in the area to be worked on by the National Park Service, stands on the slight elevation which gave it (in recent years) the name of Mound Plantation. Exploration by archaeologists disproved the popular idea that it was raised by Indians. An earlier name, Mount Locust, has just been rediscovered. Ferguson's broad acres to the east would have been cultivated by slaves in cotton, corn and tobacco.

In the early 19th century the Natchez Trace—famous pioneer overland route to Nashville—passed by the front door. The Ferguson place, listed as a stopping point or "stand," is the last one to survive and is to be completely restored.

It is hard to imagine strangers being entertained in such tiny houses. One can sympathize with Francis Baily, an English traveller of 1797, who stopped for the night at a nearby place (at Grindstone Ford, now Port Gibson) and after looking at the interior chose to spread his blanket in the garden, for which accommodation he paid twenty-five cents.

The house at Mount Locust is a low rambling one-story affair in a very dilapidated state. Like so many of the small early houses in the region, it never had a foundation under it but was built on sills supported by blocks of wood. After removing a great accumulation of additions of later date, the original "carcase" (we have just discovered this word as used by 18th-century carpenters) was revealed. It comprised one large room, 16 by 20 feet, with galleries (or porches) on three sides, the latter enclosed to provide small rooms or "chambers." This arrangement corresponds with that of the Bloomart house in Natchez (confiscated by the Spanish authorities in 1781) which was described as "a framed house . . . with floored galleries back and front containing one parlor, two chambers and two cabinets on the back gallery." This was a Louisiana French idea still to be seen at Natchez in the building on Ellicott's Hill known as "Connolly's Tavern" and at nearby Washington in the Selma Plantation house. The size of the main room may have been a sort of local minimum standard, for in 1773 we find Major David Dickson being granted a thousand-acre tract on the Homochitto River not far away on condition that he within three years erect on it "one good dwell-

ing house to contain at least twenty feet in length and sixteen feet in breadth."

The Natchez region has never been seriously studied and written up by architectural historians and we found that most of the houses purporting to have been built in the 18th century are either dated too early or have been more or less denatured by "improvements." We have been tempted to start here a corpus of notes on the subject.

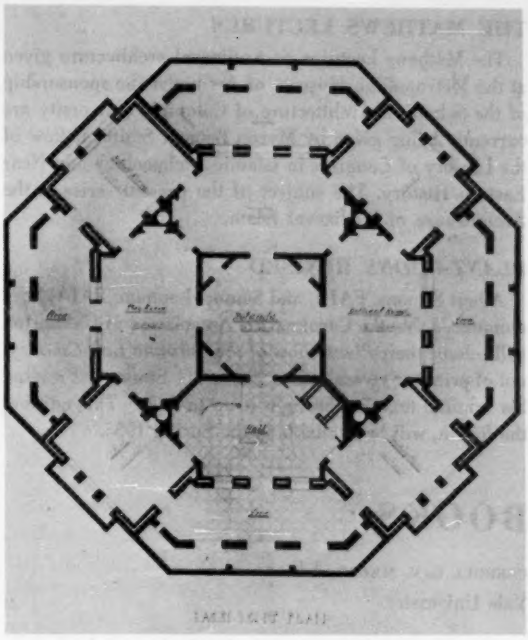
Identification of the house-builders of Natchez was tried. In the Spanish court records of the period we find only two romance-language names, those of Bertrand Febreau and Luis Gonzales, in contrast to those of James Cole, David Douglas, Joseph Duncan, Patrick McDermott, Frederick Mann, Stephen Marble, Jeremiah Miller, Thomas Regan, John Scott, John Shannon, Henry Stephens, John Tear (or Tier), Thomas Thompson and Bennet Truly who are mentioned in various transactions. Nevertheless, as remarked above, the Creole influence is evident in the general use of the gallery (still called that at Natchez) and in the disposition of rooms. As was remarked by Philadelphia visitors John Jennings (1768) and Joshua Gilpin (1809), the French were never very far away, even though most of them were killed off during the great Natchez massacre of 1729.

Both sawmills and brickyards were in operation before 1800. Only ironwork and lime had to be imported from a distance. The lack of limestone or shells to make the latter accounts for the complete absence of plastering in the original construction of the Ferguson house. The oldest buildings on these outlying plantations seem to be all, or nearly all, sheathed inside with boards, including the ceilings.

The Ferguson house was measured and photographed in 1940 by the Central, or St. Louis, office of the Historic American Buildings Survey. Seven years later, when the house was put in "mothballs," large-scale detailed records were made. Perhaps we can give our readers a reconstructed drawing later. Henry A. Judd, SAH, is representing the Park Service as Construction Supervisor on this job.

Longwood, circa *1861*

One gloomy afternoon we drove out through the moss-hung forest to see Longwood, the great oriental fantasy designed by Philadelphia architect Samuel Sloan as a home for Dr. Haller Nutt, a wealthy planter. Work on this structure stopped with the Civil War, leaving only the ground floor completed for family use. John O. Price, the superintendent, allowed us to inspect the magnificent framing of the upper levels and showed us Sloan's original floor plans. One of these is reproduced here through the kindness of Photographer Farr of Natchez. In a later issue we hope to publish a historical sketch of this strange and wonderful eight-sided house to be written by our new member Dawson A. Phelps of Tupelo.



Longwood, Natchez. Ground floor plan. (Farr)

SAH NEWS

THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians was held jointly with the College Art Association in New York City on January 27–30, 1955.

Pittsburgh was chosen as the place for the 1956 meeting.

It was announced that the annual August Field Trip of the Society for 1955 was being planned by August Tour Chairman Daniel M. C. Hopping to visit places of architectural interest in the Hudson River Valley.

THE BOOK AWARD

Early Victorian Architecture in Britain by Henry-Russell Hitchcock (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954) received the annual award given by the Society to the book judged by the Committee to be the outstanding contribution to the literature of architectural history by an American author or on an American theme published during the calendar year just ended prior to the January meeting. The winning of the award carried with it the presentation of the Alice Davis Hitchcock medallion.

A special citation was given to the *Corpus Basilicarum Christianum Romae* by Richard Krautheimer; the fourth volume of this work was published in 1954. A second special citation was awarded to *Il Cortile del Belvedere (Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, V)* by James S. Ackerman.

THE MATHEWS LECTURES

The Mathews Lectures on mediaeval architecture given at the Metropolitan Museum of Art under the sponsorship of the School of Architecture of Columbia University are currently being given by Myron Bement Smith, Fellow of the Library of Congress in Islamic Archaeology and Near Eastern History. The subject of the present series is the Architecture of Mediaeval Islam.

PLANTATIONS REVISED

Albert Simons, FAIA, and Samuel Lapham, FAIA, have announced that the Carolina Art Association of Charleston will reissue their *Plantations of the Carolina Low-Country*, out of print for several years. Samuel G. Stoney has revised his original text and brought it up to date. This edition, the fourth, will be available in the Spring 1955.

BOOKS

CARROLL L. V. MEEKS, *Editor*
Yale University.

Wolfgang Braunfels, *Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1953), 278 pages, 35 plates. DM. 30.

This book makes an important contribution to the history of the art of town-building. Rejecting the obsolete and confusing distinction between "planned" and "grown" cities, it aims to clarify the goals of medieval city building, the image by which it was guided, and the means by which it strove to realize this image.

The author uses Florence and Siena to develop his thesis because they are the two outstanding examples and because their archives yield a complete record of the considerations and decisions of their citizens which have shaped them. Supplementary material from other Tuscan towns enriches the story.

The Trecento emerges as the great period of medieval town building art. The earlier middle ages had conceived the city mainly as a place of security, as walls and gates, and as a place of salvation of the souls, as a locus of pilgrimage from church to church. In later centuries the individual palace became more important than the community. But between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century the city republic was supreme. Braunfels shows in a carefully documented presentation how the Commune consciously guides and controls all private building during this period, by the carrot of subsidies as well as by the stick of police power. Building lines are prescribed and enforced; the earlier injunctions to build exclusively in brick or stone for reasons of fire-safety are supplemented on important streets and squares by orders to build to a prescribed height, in a prescribed stone, following a prescribed "exemplum." Methods exactly paralleling current American redevelopment legislation were used to overcome the "obstinacy" of property owners and to enable other private persons to build sightly palaces where old and unsightly buildings had stood before. Tax exemptions and lucrative offices were used as incentives to make individuals erect the buildings required to create the kind of street or piazza which the Commune desired.

At the same time the building of the wall and gates remained a prime obligation of the city government; if anything, pride in their beauty increased. Throughout the period it remained the central task of the Commune, to build the cathedral with which the entire citizenry identified itself; "la chiesa Maggiore de la nostra Città, la quale è et debba essere lo specchio di tutti e' cittadini," says a Sienese petition of 1430. Braunfels shows how the "opera del Duomo" was called upon to perform all important building tasks for the Commune. But not only did the Cathedral become a responsibility of the city government, with the bishop relegated to a purely ceremonial role, but the city also largely financed and directed the building of the large churches of the predicant orders.

At the end of the thirteenth century, however, both Florence and Siena decided to symbolize the secular power of the city in a new and independent way. Braunfels shows how the concentration of all means on the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena and the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence led to the interruption of work on the cathedrals in both cities. In a most interesting chapter he shows how the orientation toward this new center influenced the plans for the baptistry and for the "Duomo Nuovo" in Siena. In Florence the creation of a piazza worthy of the palace of the Signoria and its connection with the old center at the Duomo by a monumental street became one of the main concerns of the government for more than a century.

The author shows that order and regularity were the ideals of the medieval city builders, and that they were identified with beauty. Even the grouping of trades in separate streets is requested "in order to guarantee the beauty of the street" by the "ufficiali sopra l'ornato" of Siena, an important municipal authority established for the sole purpose of providing for the beauty of the city.

Braunfels fully documents his thesis that not only the individual structures but also their relation was carefully planned and consciously realized. He quotes a municipal order to remove a wall near S. Domenico in Siena because it obstructs the view of the church from the city. This impressive view, which the visitor to-day still admires, was planned that way.

The first chapter, dealing with the city-states of Tuscany, develops the origin and concept of the medieval city "ut vita communis et ornatior fiat et tutior" (Harbanus Maurus). It also contains an interesting exposition of the internal structure of the city, the organization of each parish around its church and in relation to its city gate. It is followed by chapters on the Wall, on Streets and Squares, on Churches, and on Secular Buildings. A concluding chapter on the City Architect discusses the relations between officials, builders, and the public and shows that the role of Giotto, Giovanni Pisano, or Arnolfo di Cambio was substantially the same as that later occupied by Brunelleschi. Most fascinating is the debate pro and con a tambour for the cupola of the Duomo in Florence, the citizens deciding against the builders and for the group led by the painters that the tambour, while not so desirable from the inside of the church, should be built because it will be more beautiful from the outside.

Throughout the book there is the closest integration of sensitive aesthetic analysis with painstaking interpretation of legal documents. A vivid and complete picture emerges of a field of the art of building which has been strangely neglected by art historians. The text is supplemented by plans and photographs, 30 original documents, a bibliography, and an index.

HANS BLUMENFELD

BOOKS RECEIVED

Editors of the *Architectural Record*, *A Treasury of Contemporary Houses* (New York: Dodge, 1954). $5.95.

Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955). $8.50.

George Heard Hamilton, *The Art and Architecture of Russia* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955). $8.50.

Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954). $20.00.

James Lincoln Huntington, *Forty Acres—the Story of the Bishop Huntington House* (New York: Hastings House, n.d.). $3.50.

James S. Ackerman, *Il Cortile del Belvedere* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1954).

Eliot Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design 1825–1953* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954). $6.50.

S. Giedion, *Walter Gropius—Work and Teamwork* (New York: Reinhold, 1954). $10.00.

Fred N. Severud and Anthony F. Merrill, *The Bomb Survival and You* (New York: Reinhold, 1954). $5.95.